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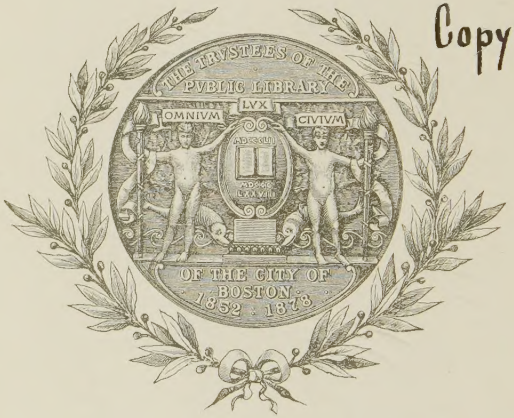

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THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

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THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMS

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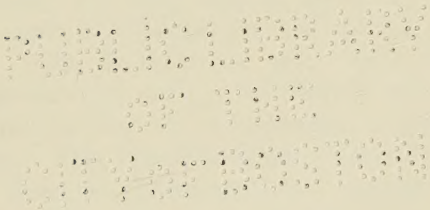
BY

HARRY F. WARD

PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK CITY



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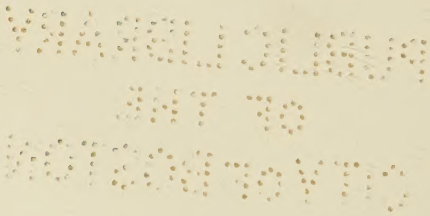

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PREFACE

The background of this discussion is the conviction, which has been maturing through the years, that a new order of social living is necessary for both the practical and the spiritual interests of humanity. The events of the last few years have intensified that conviction and have added to it the judgment that the beginnings of a new order are already with us, that here and there parts of it may be seen breaking through the shell of the old, which has long been nourishing the embryo. This does not mean that state socialism is going to be universally adopted or that the world is going Bolshevik. Still less does it mean that the organization of a League of Nations will inaugurate the millenium. The signs are clear, however, that we have arrived at one of those conjunctions of economic pressure and idealistic impulse, which occasion fundamental changes in the organization of life. It was so when slavery was abandoned as the economic base of civilization and again when monarchy was rejected as a mode of government. Now, the economic order which superseded production by slavery and came to its fruition with the mass production of the machine era is beginning to give way to some other form. This transformation necessarily involves changes in the form of government that superseded monarchy, also far-reaching alteration and developments in the entire social structure, in the habits and customs of society and in its vital forces. This is more generally understood in Europe than in the United States, where the present economic order is younger and more vigorous on account of its later development and the extent and richness of the natural resources that nourish it. Here too there prevails a simple

faith that the formulæ of the democratic state will solve all the social problems of humanity, even though their application be limited and hindered by an autocratic economic order.

This book views the new order as a process of growth, with its roots in the past. It therefore discusses the principles round which it is forming, and then attempts to analyze in the light of them the main programs for social change that have been recently offered. It deals both with the vital forces and with the form and structure of the new order. It holds that certain principles or ideals—they will be called social or moral or religious according to the point of view,—which have developed in the past experience of man as the expression of both his practical needs and his spiritual aspirations, are now being consciously accepted by multitudes of people as the guiding stars of life and the working principles of a new social order. These principles are viewed not as finished products, but as still, and possibly forever, in process of development. They are "both building and builded upon."

The discussion proceeds from the standpoint of a teacher of Christian ethics. The principles here considered are germinal in the teaching of Jesus. With him they were an historic development, the fulfillment of the law and the prophets, the embodiment of the past experience of his race. They have been an historic development ever since and will continue to be. It is because they are an epitome of universal experience and aspiration that they have authority to increasingly challenge the generations of men to fulfill and apply them according to their need and light, and then to pass them on to others for further development. The new order is fundamentally a task for religion as well as for economic and social science and practical organization. It involves a spiritual transformation or it cannot be.

In form, the discussion is an attempt to summarize the nature and chart the direction of impending social change. The

discussion of the various programs is by no means complete; it is limited to their relationship to the principles which have been expounded. Those who are familiar with this field will find nothing new here, unless it be the religious aspect of the discussion, for sometimes the spiritual significance of well-known things escapes the wise as well as the prudent.

In the nature of the material presented, I am indebted for information and suggestion to numerous sources and I have chosen not to incumber the text with notes by referring to them.

Because of the extent of the field covered, it is inevitable that the issues involved should appear to be oversimplified. It is not for lack of appreciation of their complexity, but their details do not lie within the province of the present discussion. Moreover, it is concerning the weightier matters of the law, justice and judgment and mercy, that the forces of religion need now to make up their mind. The tithes of mint and anise and cummin can be considered in less urgent times, after the main outlines of the form the molten world is to take have been determined.

HARRY F. WARD.

New York City,
July, 1919.

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE NEW ORDER

During the Great War, many men talked and still more thought of the days that were to come after. They endeavored to assess the tasks that awaited mankind when the fighting should be done. They spoke of "reconstruction" or "a new world" according to their several temperaments and points of view. With every month that passes since the Armistice was signed, it becomes increasingly clear that the task which now calls mankind is something more than reconstruction. The term indicates a job of repairs, or at the most, the replacing or rebuilding of something that has been destroyed. Reconstruction technically means the restoration of the communities devastated by the conflict, and the readjustment of those dislocations of life which the war has occasioned throughout the world. To restore the activities of humanity to a normal peace basis is the strict reconstruction task.

This alone is a tremendous undertaking. It must needs be on a scale comparable to that of the war. As the war was titanic so reconstruction must be colossal. War is necessarily organized and concentrated destruction and the recent conflict summoned to that purpose all the knowledge and energies of a scientific era. It is a commonplace of life that to construct is always a longer and more difficult undertaking than to destroy. The work of many men, through many years, or the fruition of centuries of collective effort may be smashed in a moment by the shell from a great gun or the finger of a careless child. When the destruction is social, as in the case of war, it requires a better organization and more

energy to repair than to make the damage. To wage the war required a tremendous concentration of the will of the nations. To make good the social waste of the struggle, indeed to prevent it from being fruitful and multiplying throughout the earth, will require a still greater exercise of the collective will and there is now no stimulus of an immediate danger to arouse the necessary energy. No generation following a great war has ever yet been able to fully recover from it. Having given free rein to the primitive passion of destruction, civilization now stands like a child in the midst of its broken toys, finding that some will not go together again and cannot be replaced. Some other institutions besides kings and kaisers have recently been smashed past hope of repair or cracked beyond possibility of use. Still others have been so badly damaged that it may prove cheaper to make new ones than to repair the old. If the old garment will not carry the new cloth, why waste labor on the patch?

To the effect of the war upon inherited institutions must be added its effect upon the temper, purpose and knowledge of the common people, particularly in Europe. In the final event, they will decide whether it is to be repair or rebuilding of the social structure. Such evidence of their point of view as is now available, indicates that any attempt to rebuild the world on the old foundation is doomed to final failure. Too much has been swept away in Europe, too much of the authority and social sanction of what remains has been undermined, to make that foundation much longer safe. It is by this time perfectly clear that the war in its ending is challenging the economic order in Europe, as in its development it challenged the political order of the central powers. This challenge cannot be confined to Europe and the answer to it cannot long be delayed. Even though there is little change in the mode of life after the Peace Conference ad-

journs, nevertheless the good old days for the people of power and privilege are not coming back. No ruling class anywhere in the earth will ever again be able to sit secure and at ease in the seats of the mighty. The concentration of economic power is to be challenged as the concentration of military power has been challenged. The people throughout the world who toil for a mere living, a little less or a little more, are not going to remain quiescent in a subordinate and inferior social status. They have been taught the effectiveness of mass action. Many of them worn and weary, will sink back to the old inertia. They will be like the miner who found his old job underground waiting for him but the mule with which he had worked for years had been replaced by another. A few days with the new animal was all he could stand. Then he struck, refusing to return to work until the familiar mule, the comrade of years of toil, was restored to him. But the attitude toward life of the returned soldier is better revealed by that large number of men who stay in the city instead of going back to the farm or the small town. They have found the former place of life too straight for them, the earlier environment too restricted. At a meeting of a Soldiers', Sailors' and Workmen's Council in Philadelphia a soldier made the following report: "I have interviewed personally 365 men who have been in the army and navy. I have recorded their opinions closely and carefully. There were 191 who told me they were ready for an immediate revolution and the overthrow of the Capitalist system. Of this number 168 were oversea men and 23 had been in the army here. Then there were 104 who wanted a revolution but of a somewhat mild sort, one like the Ebert-Scheidemann revolution in Germany, the rise to power of the moderate socialist party. Of this number 78 were oversea men; 26 were home service men. Of the 365, but 61 wanted a more moderate change of government, a gradual mitigation and removal of current industrial

evils. And 8 of the men interviewed were satisfied with present conditions, while a ninth was so thoroughly contented he said he would willingly fight the Bolsheviks if conscripted for Siberian service."

The revolutionary force of the war is not yet spent. The fury of the elements it let loose upon the house of humanity is not yet exhausted. Fourteen wars, in which big artillery was used, were in progress in Europe during the Peace Session, one for each of the Fourteen Points, the men of the old order cynically declared. Strike after strike shakes the economic foundation of the great industrial nations, each one revealing the acquisition of new power and purpose by the toilers. It is the day of judgment for all social and governmental institutions. In open court, before the assembled multitudes, each one must show its moral authority and its practical efficiency. In a world in which so much has been destroyed and abandoned, everything must justify its right to remain. So much of our old-fashioned social machinery proved inadequate for the tasks of war, that it is now compelled to answer the questioning of the common people concerning its adequacy for the tasks of peace. What a wartime censorship could not do in concealing the inefficiency of the prevailing mode of political and economic organization, cannot in the end be accomplished by bureaucratic burrowing or publicity propaganda. Moreover, the complete effect of the war as a force for social change will not have been realized until the common people who did the bulk of the fighting face the full bill for the undertaking. As always in times past, collection is to be attempted from them. But this time there is a difference. The people are now becoming able to audit the accounts. Before long they will check them up to the last item. When that day comes, they will decide who shall pay and who shall collect, and their decision will be enforced. They have been magnificently fooled for the time being by

some skillful political juggling, but already the omens declare that the process is becoming apparent to the audience. The political showmen are soon due to find out that the period during which the people can be fooled becomes progressively shorter, as each succeeding method of deception gets understood.

The conservative forces apparently have only one answer to the increasing demand for a new social order, and that is the old futile word of repression. Jails and machine guns are apparently their only resource and these have never proved adequate weapons against the human spirit. They are the poorest of substitutes for ideas, the final evidence of the bankruptcy of an order which must depend on them. Those who think to restore the solvency of the present order by the currency or credit of coercion had better remember that the primitive blood lust of the common people has not yet retired into those dim and secret caverns of their being from which it was conjured by the recent carnage. They too are still dominated by the philosophy and the propaganda of hate so sedulously cultivated for war purposes; they too have learned that life and property are not so valuable as they had been taught; they have discovered that the decalogue is not absolute; they have been taught that no hardship, danger, or sacrifice is too great to be endured in defense or pursuit of an ideal.

The increasing intelligence of the common people is the most significant fact to reckon with in trying to determine the nature and extent of pending social change. They have suffered many things under the present order without knowing how nor why. They are gradually finding out how the machinery of life works and where it needs to be changed, which is what most of the people to whom the present order is kind have neither the motive nor the conscience to discover. What those who would maintain the present order, either from self-

interest or conviction, have to face, is an awakening working class the world over, intent on changing its social status, determined to have a redistribution of power, and continually gaining in knowledge. In their need of social change they are a majority. Increasingly they assert that nothing short of a new order will meet their needs. When their purpose is clarified and their methods chosen they will claim the recognized right of a majority.

Lest the work of their hands should presently come to naught, those who recognize the need of social change but would confine it to reform measures, those who think of reconstruction in terms of the repair or rebuilding of the broken house of humanity, will do well to consider whether the old house is big enough for the peoples of the earth to live in. If now, mankind demands a roomier habitation, is it sufficient to make some changes to the old house or must we start afresh with new plans and specifications?

As a matter of fact, the figure is inadequate. It is a new mode of life that humanity seeks and not merely a new house to live in. The changes that are now taking place in the social order are not mechanical but vital. What is going on is no mere tinkering with the machinery of human society but one of those tremendous upheavals which mark a new period in human living. One of the great migrations of history is happening. It is not, as in days past, a people swarming out to find new pastures and new lands to till; it is a movement of the race in search for more space for the development of the human spirit.

The social order is not a framework external to humanity; it is composed of humanity itself. It is the thought and life, the customs and habit of the people; it is not a machine but a living organism, composed of personalities welded together in vital association. Its forms and institutions are not only expressions of life; they are life itself. The family, the school,

the church, the State, industry, are all composed of people. At times static as institutions, they are nevertheless throbbing with the lives of the individuals who make them. Occasionally they furnish the means for their constitutent members to express their discontent with the existing state of life and their determination to attempt something better. At present, everyone of these institutions is dynamic with the spirit of change. The extraordinary activity of the human race at the present time is not merely because humanity is busy trying to make a new home, but because it is passing into a new stage of development. One of the points in social evolution has been reached at which epochal changes occur, and from which vital developments proceed.

The outstanding fact of the present situation is that humanity is now seeking to come together as a whole, is becoming conscious of itself as an organic unity and is striving to organize its life upon that basis. The social order is forming upon a world scale. This process involves not simply a new world order but new life; not merely change in organization but in spirit and purpose, in ideal and motive. The dynamic forces of human association are developing new power. The urge for a new life is greater among the masses of the people than among the ruling classes. The leaders of the nations have failed to organize a new order because they have been unable or unwilling to trust the new life that surges throughout the world. Its first manifestation is the universal faith and hope that a new order of things was about to come. It is doubtful if any period of human history, unless it was that immediately preceding the birth of Jesus, has known such a universal expectancy of the dawn of a new day. A great disappointment has fallen upon the earth because the men in power were more concerned to hold back the new life of the people than to lead it to fulfillment. If the vision of a new day is now to leave the earth cold and dull, it will be because

the people themselves are without the capacity to realize their hope and translate their faith into works. That they will attempt it, is quite evident.

When the general longing for a new world attempts to translate itself into fact, it is seen that the task bears a twofold aspect. The nature of the change required in world organization and world living is seen most graphically in the development of the Peace Conference. In hope and ideal this gathering began as a parliament of men dealing with the future of mankind more than with the past. As a fact, it dwindled into a secret session of a few men adjusting the world on the basis of the old order, its powers and privileges. The work which the Peace Conference started to do in obedience to the ideals of humanity was generalized under the term "democracy." There was to be more democracy in the world as a result of the war. The situation was complicated because democracy in the modern world has a twofold aspect. To most of the idealists who were enjoying the major privileges of the present economic order, it meant the extension of political democracy to subject nationalities and backward peoples; to some other idealists of the privileged classes and to millions of toilers, it meant the application of democracy to the economic life, its development to cover the whole industrial and social activities of mankind. The situation was still further complicated because there was a necessity to unfold both these meanings at one and the same time. Before political democracy had completed itself, either in Germany and Russia, or in Great Britain and the United States, the demand for social democracy pressed hard upon the government. One reason for the war was that political democracy had not developed in Eastern and Central as in Western Europe. The same reason accounts very largely for the form and nature of the Russian Revolution. The world suddenly found itself torn apart by a twofold struggle; the attempt to

apply democratic principles on the one hand to national ambitions and desires, and on the other hand to the interests of classes. In Central and Eastern Europe, while the upper and middle classes are set for self-determination, the peasants and the workers are equally set on self-realization. The one endeavor means only a change in the form of government; the other means a changed form of government united with a different form of economic organization.

The twofold aspect of the task now confronting humanity is seen again in the debate over the League of Nations. Will it be a League of Contract to conciliate and mediate the disputes of free and independent sovereign States separately pursuing their economic necessities and ambitions, or will it be a League of Service, in which the Nations will gradually grow together into one body mutually ministering to their common economic necessities and promoting the common development of humanity? Its value as an instrument of the new order is determined by the answer to this question. If the League is to be a combination of the same kind of governments that existed before the war, pursuing the same objectives, the world will receive from it no new spirit and not even a new form, only an enlargement of the old. For a new life there must be a new purpose.

The measure of value for the League of Nations is not its worth as a regulative agency in international affairs, but the degree to which it positively embodies the desire and purpose of mankind to find a better way of living together, in which there shall be more honesty and justice, more kindness and service. It is the spirit of man that has to be satisfied, as well as the practical necessities of a situation in which the indispensable business of mankind can no longer be adequately carried on. It must be remembered that before the war broke there was a widespread revolt of the human spirit against the existing order, which has been accentuated and increased by

the experience of the conflict. The central characteristic of the general dissatisfaction with modern civilization is a growing perception of the need for a change in the purpose and form of economic organization. This is crystallizing into a widespread conviction that the spirit of man can find no full expression until the necessary business of life is a matter of common concern and service. For millions of people the world over, this is the essence of a new order of living. How then can this situation be met by an agreement between governments which do not believe that the basic activities of every day living are matters of common interest and service, but are to be pursued for private gain, and that it is the main function of government to protect the winners, not simply in their own interests but in the interest of those who hope to win in the future? Between such governments an agreement or understanding concerning economic issues, which are the root of the matter, will take one of two forms: it will be an attempt to set up legal machinery to prevent or adjust disputes, or it will be a pooling of interests for the mutual profit of those who have found competition to be unprofitable. In either case, it constitutes only a new piece of political machinery and not a new order of life. As a means of mediation and conciliation its service would be to prevent the disruption of the processes that are making for a common life, to furnish a breathing space for those who wished by common experiment and discussion to discover how to organize life around a new purpose. As a pooling of the economic interests of the greater powers it would mean the consolidation and strengthening of the capitalistic form of economic organization and of the financial imperialism which is its supreme expression. This mode of economic activity has grown up in the machine age side by side with the democratic state, which it has used as its political instrument and expression. Consequently, the idealistic attempt to spread political democracy all over the earth may

turn out to be the last stage of our present political and economic order, corresponding to the final world-wide period of the Roman Empire. When it reaches the point where there are no more worlds to conquer, any system is then doomed to decadence. What those who reject political democracy, as the governmental expression of economic autocracy, have failed to see, however, is that the democratic spirit in government is continually instigating revolt against an autocratic economic order, is constantly inciting such changes in government as will enable and express democracy in economic relations. Confined to the formal political realm, democracy becomes the servant, then the slave and at last the victim of the economic oligarchy that is fastening its grip upon the whole world. It can save itself and bring a new order to mankind only by securing an economic expression.

An international oligarchy of the financial interests of the great powers, using the international political machinery to control the undeveloped resources and the labor power of the world for the profit of the owners of concentrated wealth in the great industrial nations, is one of the possibilities of the present situation. There are sufficient people to be reckoned with, as the Paris Conference has shown, to whom making the world safe for democracy means capitalizing the earth that their descendants may draw perpetual interest, to whom the extension of civilization means fastening our type of industrial organization upon every one of the "backward peoples," regardless of their wishes, ideals and aspirations. To these people the League of Nations is merely an opportunity to organize loot on a grander scale, to avoid inconvenient quarrels concerning the divisions of the spoils and to maintain the arrangement by combined force. If the international interests of finance should prove sufficiently compelling to accomplish such an outcome to the present event, the capitalistic order in its culmination will have dealt a mortal blow to the concept

of the absolute sovereignty of the nations. The constituent members of a League of High Finance would have to agree to certain limitations of power for the sake of the profits involved, just as in national industry when the financiers show a group of manufacturers that it is no longer profitable to fight each other and organize them into a combination which by mutual agreement limits the separate rights and powers of its members for their separate profit. Similarly, on the international as on the national scale, such a combination prepares the way for democracy by developing the means and capacity for big scale organization which can later be used democratically to coöperative ends.

An American banker, who has seen at first hand, the misery and industrial collapse of Europe has urged that the United States should provide the raw materials and credit which would start the cycle of production in the suffering countries. This he does because he knows that more misery will follow unless industry and agriculture can begin to function and also because he sees that the continuance of the present situation threatens the institution of private property and the maintenance of the capitalist order the world over. It is a mixed motive and by mixed motives the ordinary progress of the world is achieved, but not its salvation in a supreme crisis. That requires a single motive; it demands sacrifice. The capitalist order can only prove its ability to save the world by being willing, if need be, to lose itself. That the law of its own being will not permit it to meet the supreme test is manifest by what it gave and what it made in wartime, by its influence upon the negotiations at Paris, and now by its reception in this country of this proposal that it should risk something to save Europe and itself. It would appear that the poison of its central principle of self-interest as the motive of action has so weakened its system that it cannot even accomplish as much united action as is necessary to prolong its own life.

If the immediate result of the war should turn out to be not the beginning of a new order but the consolidation of the old, an international trust avoiding wasteful and destructive competition but making profits larger and more certain, it will not be because it was so planned, but because economic forces were not understood by those whose duty it was to understand them and show the people how to control them. It will not be for lack of ideals but for lack of knowledge to see whither ideals lead and of courage to follow the path. Moreover, such a consolidation and increase of the forces of power and privilege in the industrial nations would not be malicious or malevolent but sternly assured of its own righteousness, claiming the sanction of democracy and the blessing of Christianity and receiving a considerable portion of both. It would, moreover, in many respects, be very benevolent. Welfare work and philanthrophy would be its pride and indeed its joy. It would provide the people with more comforts and educational opportunities but by its very nature and constitution it could not be willing to give self-determination and self-realization on equal terms to all classes and all races. But with nothing less than this, will the people of the earth now be satisfied.

The difficulties that have developed at Paris between the Allies, indicate how doubtful it is that an International Holding Company can be formed to underwrite the economic exploitation of the more primitive peoples for the benefit of the privileged classes of the industrial nations. The interests to be adjusted are much more complex and the common interest of the separate exploiters is harder to perceive than in the case of a national trust. But if it can be done, it has but a short course to run. Leaving out of account the spirit of revolt it would arouse when its nature and operations were perceived, the probabilities are that it would defeat itself. In smaller circles such agreements are hard to maintain.

It takes a good deal of diplomacy to keep the peace within a trust or even a trade association. As one business man said "we get together in our trade and talk harmony and make agreements and draw up rules. Then we go outside and get up against the game and forget those rules and look out for our own advantage." If the game is grab, it is hard to make rules to keep order. If life is to be a prize ring there can be certain rules to check unfair fighting, but the very rules guarantee that somebody will be the loser and when the stakes are sufficiently large the contest becomes crooked. The attempt to unite the nations on the basis of the capitalistic order faces another difficulty. There are certain economists who insist that monopoly will eventually correct itself, that the trusts do not need regulation because they can never get beyond a certain point. After that point it becomes profitable for competitors to arise. They successfully compete with and destroy the monopoly and the process begins over again. If this be a statement of fact it shows that an economic organization dependent mainly upon the appeal to the acquisitive instinct can avoid stagnation and inertia only at the cost of constant and wasteful conflict. As long as life is organized as a contest it is inevitable that "youth will be served," that no man can maintain the championship in the prize ring forever, that no consolidation of forces can retain vigor enough to permanently hold power. If this be true, the statesmen who are seeking the combination of nations based upon power rather than service are pursuing an illusion, they are simply preparing for future conflicts. So long as the life of the world is a contest to control the opportunities for the enormous wealth to be gathered from the development of the resources of the earth and the control of its undeveloped labor, the statesmen who are trying to devise rules to prevent war and tyranny are not likely to succeed even to the point of modifying a free for all fight into a contest in which certain prac-

tices are disallowed as foul. Fighting has never been kept clean after it became commercialized.

Even though there could be performed a binding combination of nations, each of which was more concerned with its own economic necessities and advantage than with the common interest, it would still leave unsolved the sharp conflict between the classes which the present order has developed and which increasingly becomes international in its scope and organization. So deeply has this class conflict cut into and under national lines that even during the war it was very difficult in all European nations to keep intact the national unity. The organization of an international financial imperialism calling itself a League of Nations would simply accentuate and bring to a head the world-wide class struggle. It would be considered by the self-conscious working class, as in economic and moral fact it would be, a declaration of class war. Altogether apart from the intent and purpose of its organizers, if the League of Nations should in its operation turn out to be an instrument for the perpetuation of the capitalist order and not the approach to a new mode of economic activity, it will stand in the same position before the workers of the world as though it were fashioned for that purpose.

Something of the nature of the change in human life that is now necessary may be gathered by observing the fact that while the men of the old order, the men in place and power, have been debating, the men of the new order, the men of the rank and file, have been acting. In Russia, before the political revolution is accomplished, it becomes a social upheaval, establishing in place of the rule of the aristocracy the rule of the proletarians inaugurating a new economic order. In England the men of the basic industries compel the government to call an industrial parliament and to promise to carry out the recommendations of a commission which recommends

a fundamental change in the institution of property as it affects the ownership of mines. In North Dakota the farmers, through political means, put their hands upon the control of their product and the credit necessary to the carrying on of their occupation. In these and numerous other instances is the evidence of the rise to power of the class that is engaged in the basic economic production of society. Behind this struggle to control political power is something more. Fundamentally it is an attempt to organize society around a different principle. The aristocratic form of human society was organized around war—it was the rise to power of the fighting class and it enlarged and glorified the instinct for combat. Political democracy has been organized around the struggle for capital. It was the rise to power of the trading and manufacturing class. It enlarged and glorified the instinct for possession. It perpetuated in another form the fundamental principle of the aristocratic society. It failed to form a democratic community. Now comes the working class to power, attempting to organize a social democracy around the principle of productive labor, desiring to enlarge and glorify the instinct for comradeship, proposing to exalt service above possessions and to make such changes in the institutions of private property as will cause it to enlarge and not diminish the development of all the people, taken both individually and collectively.

In this they are joined by the idealists of other classes and by all who know the economic necessity of the present situation. If the attempt succeeds it will indeed inaugurate a new order of life. If will organize a world family ministering to the common need and development just as the original family grew into permanance around the necessity of joint labor and care to meet the needs of the young, beginning with food. We have reached the stage of social development where such joint service on a world scale is possible, as the economic

organization of the allied nations in the war amply proves. This ancient principle of action, long subdued and repressed in our western competitive individualism, is now struggling for expression, is attempting to fashion and fit to itself some adequate form in a world which is spiritually starved for lack of it and has abundant technical capacity to organize it on a scale never before possible. While most of the intellect in the world of privilege is engaged upon plans to stabilize the old order, its very basis is being undermined by the dynamic force of the working principle of the new order, the principle of mutual service. While the forces which control the old order are seeking to repress by terrorism all movements tending to social and political change, millions of human atoms the world over are moving together to their respective places in a great coördinated organism to thus promote the common life and their own largest good. Aimless and blind in large part is this great movement of the common life, but rapidly gaining vision and discernment. It is here, in the yearnings and strivings of the millions and not in the bargainings of the elder statesmen, that the signs of a new order are to be discovered. It is the conscious association for the common good of the creative forces of civilization which will indeed constitute a new form of human living animated by a new spirit.

If the situation in which the world now finds itself requires not merely reforms but a basic change in economic organization, involving a still deeper change in the moral and spiritual foundations of life, it is very plain that there are some serious obstructions across the path of progress. The new order will not come simply by wishing and praying. It is not to be secured merely by applauding high ideals or writing sound principles. It is not to be brought in by rubbing an Aladdin's lamp some night and finding that our dreams, in the morning, have somehow turned into solid fact.

Even the lesser of the possible gains which humanity might realize at this present moment, namely a confederation of the nations for the abatement of international conflict and the mutual benefit of the ruling classes of the great powers, even that minimum step in progress, is very seriously threatened by powerful forces of opposition. There is being created out of the war a group of new nations—some American humorist has described the process as not one of self-determination but selfish-determination—and unfortunately, there is a little more than humor to that phrase. This new-born nationalism is vigorously self-assertive. The reaction from a long period of injustice and oppression is bringing with it some disagreeable qualities and the ambitions of several of these new-born nations are being expressed in the old terms of territorial greed. They are still thinking that the acquisition of further territory is the way to become a great state. They have even been occupying territory by force of arms while the Peace Conference was sitting, and in some cases their armies have been sent into alien territory by the great powers to fight new formed socialist republics, whose self-determination was not authorized at Paris. As if this were not enough to complicate the situation, in the background is the economic imperialism of the great powers, constantly creating suspicion, jealousy and antagonism between them. This is the newer form of the lust for power. It is the predatory spirit grown older and more sophisticated since the days when it sought to acquire new territory for glory. That was the primitive form of national greed; this desire for special economic privilege in other parts of the earth is the educated form of national selfishness on the part of nations who have learned something of the cost of holding and administering subject territory, and who have found it more profitable to be able, through control of invested capital, to dominate markets and labor and undeveloped resources in other parts of the earth. Either or

both of these forms of national selfishness must be controlled much more vigorously than at present or any agreement between the nations will soon be reduced to impotence. This is a matter of ideals not machinery, of moral forces not organization.

The democratic idealism of the United States is throwing its passion for freedom, its deep sense of justice, its yearning for brotherhood against the spirit of imperialism both at home and abroad. But it is now stiff from the fetters of war time restriction, it is handicapped by its ignorance of the democratic forces of Europe, it is limited in its understanding of economic reality because it has been free from the economic pressure which is upon the nations of Europe. Scarcely aroused out of its splendid isolation, it does not quite realize that the world has made certain gains in science, in industry, in social organization, which make possible at this time, if men would do it, something more than a mere negative League of Nations to endeavor to suppress war and to arbitrate disputes. It is a tragedy for political democracy, challenged on the one hand by economic imperialism and on the other by the dicatorship of the proletariat, that it has no leaders who show any understanding of the economic realities and the economic possibilities of the modern world. If the present situation could be met by the expansion of political democracy to other peoples who have not yet enjoyed it, or to other classes within the nations where it has partially obtained, the present or available leadership of democracy would be adequate, for to that situation the formulæ which have been worked out by political experience can be applied. That is exactly what this nation has been trying to do. There is a tremendous missionary force in its democracy. It is profoundly convinced that it has enjoyed the very best form of government yet devised by humanity and that all that is needed for the ills of mankind is to extend this form of govern-

ment over the whole earth. It is a good thing for any religion or political or economic system that it still has life enough to have missionary desire and force; but it is not good for humanity if that missionary force takes the form of an expression of the universal desire to play God to the rest of the world. We all like to do it: first the kings, then the statesmen, then the capitalists; now the professors and next the working men. One class after another, they think that they know enough and are good enough to be a kindly providence to the remainder of mankind. For that reason we cannot understand why the Russians should have preferred a Soviet to a Constituent Assembly, and in the same way the Bolsheviki cannot understand why liberals should be satisfied with our form of political democracy. They too, are quite sure that they have the best form of organization the world has ever yet devised and are anxious to extend it throughout the earth for the good of mankind. The missionary spirit is valuable to the world as long as it leads to a comparison and interchange of systems. It becomes a hindrance when it assumes the infallibility, and immutability of its propaganda.

If the idealists of democracy are to make their full contribution to the new order they will have to recognize that the industrial needs of mankind require something more than the political formulæ of the past. It is a time for invention but inventors are always misunderstood and their inventions usually get smashed to begin with, or else rejected. But the workers who smashed the new machines at the beginning of the industrial revolution hurt their own cause without knowing it just as much as they hurt anybody else. That is still more true in the field of social invention. Society is constantly smashing machines just because they are new, and imprisoning men because they have discovered that the world does go round. The consequence is the general injury, and the peril is the suicide of society. When the new order is considered

as something more than an expansion in size of our democratic arrangements, when it is viewed as an attempt to change the institution of property so as to abolish economic class distinctions, we find that it faces a much deeper spirit of combat than resides in international jealousies and antagonisms, which may indeed turn out to be the parent of them. In the class conflict we have the combative instinct unduly enlarged and glorified by the instinct for acquisition and the desire to defend the possessions that have been gained. Hence, any proposal to change the economic order in general is met at once by the property class, not with reason in the field of discussion, but by repression in the field of physical force. It is so much easier to shoot your opponent than to convert him, though it may prove to be a great deal more disastrous in the long run to the very institutions you are trying to defend. The blind passion of the unthinking crowd is a fruitful theme for social moralists. There is also some wisdom to be gathered from considering the blind passion of the property owning class which is reputed to be intelligent.

There is only one answer from below to the spirit of repression and that is to declare it a fight to the finish. When the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations was sitting in the City of Seattle there appeared before it a representative of certain associated employing interests. He was a typical two-fisted, aggressive American business man of the west. He informed the Commission that all that body was accomplishing was the promotion of unrest and discontent, that there was only one thing to do with the organized workers and that was to subdue them. "The fight has to go to a finish and for myself," said he, as he squared his vigorous physique,—"I am glad that I am living in the day when we can fight it to the end and lick those fellows to a frazzle." The next witness happened to be an official of the I. W. W. and he said in brief: "Why gentlemen, you are simply wasting your valuable time;

this thing has gone far beyond investigation; about all you can do is to hold a post-mortem on the corpse and report the results. You know we fellows have this thing all settled; all that the capitalists have got left to do now is to find a soft place to fall on." If this spirit of combat continues to grow between the classes, the spiritual qualities that the new order needs because it is to be a coöperative order, will be so weakened and distorted in the struggle as to make impossible for several generations any healthy and wholesome development of life or much improvement in the manner of living. The American labor movement has suffered incalculably in moral and intellectual vigor because it has had to spend the greater part of its energies in resisting the aggressive attack of American capital. Violence has developed and increased in Russia in proportion to the attacks of the counter-revolutionists upon the Soviet government and in proportion as those attacks have been encouraged and strengthened by the support of the Allies. The idealism at the bottom of society which is making for a new order, is mixed with selfishness and brutality just as it is at the top, and if the issue is to be turned into the field of force the worst elements in the nature of the people will be let loose to the infinite destruction of our social resources.

With this possible outcome to the present conflict of interest between the classes, which the daily news shows to be rapidly coming to a head even in the newer lands—the United States, Canada, Australia, South America—a heavy responsibility falls upon the intellectuals of the middle class, the intelligentsia as they are called in Europe. Nowhere else is this class as large or as well equipped to serve society as in the United States. One result of the free economic opportunity of the early life of this nation was an intellectual and idealistic middle class, the joint product of our large economic resources, our educational system and the nature and teachings of our

religion. Therefore the American middle class, a powerful social group, ought to have some distinct contribution to make, both to the matter and the manner of the new order. Its pioneer spirit ought to put it in the vanguard of those seeking a new world. Its ideals are those around which in time a new order will crystallize, whether it follows or forsakes them. Those ideals are freedom, justice, fraternity. It was these standards that America followed in the world war and the banners were upheld by the intellectuals. Will they now carry them in a more difficult situation? They are called upon at the present time to decide whether the existing political and economic organization expresses these ideals better than the new order which is being proposed and already has been partly worked out. Because they have the technical equipment which is necessary to both orders and have therefore a measure of economic independence, they are more free to make this judgment than those who are tied to the present machine as mere wage earners or property holders. Upon their intelligence in deciding that question and upon their courage in following that judgment, the immediate course of events in no small degree depends.

As to their main direction the choice is now limited. It is either the beginning of a new order or general disaster. The compromise paths in between have been tried far enough to show that they lead only back to the old road. Unless there can now be organized a real Family of Nations, unless the class struggle can be ended by a process of reason and orderly progress, the world is doomed to the devastation of universal conflict. If there is no adequate change, the old house we have been living in will come down. Too many of the timbers are rotten, and if the roof does not fall in there is a blind Samson grinding corn downstairs in the cellar and his arms are already around the foundation pillars. Ferrero, the Italian historian, points out that there are present in our modern European

civilization all the elements which led to the decay and dissolution of the Roman Empire, and that they are constantly increasing, particularly the concentration of wealth and power. The war has increased these forces of social dissolution. Additional evidence of the presence of decay in the present order lies in the fact that its defenders insist upon the use of force rather than reason. When any order gets to the point that it needs to use physical force as its first argument, it is thereby giving inherent evidence of its own weakness. It has lost confidence in the moral power of its cause, which in earlier days it was willing to submit to the franchise of humanity. It is only when it gets old and ripe for falling that it turns at once to the use of the means of suppression in order to maintain its existence. That it fears for itself is a sign of failing vitality.

A still further indication of the same condition is the fact that already the formulæ of justice are being used to work injustice and then to defend it. The Roman Empire again offers an historic parallel. When the imperial court began to break down the liberties of the Roman people, it used the Senate, the ancient defender of those liberties, to carry out its plans under the ancient formulæ of justice and freedom. After it had suborned and prostituted the State the next step was to use the military forces drawn from the provinces to overthrow the Senate and establish completely the arbitrary imperial power. To enslave a free people, the forces of imperialism must deceive them by cloaking their deeds in the phrases of freedom. Exactly this has recently been done to the free peoples under the guise of war-time necessity.

Any impartial study of the judicial and administrative processes of the war period that touch upon class interests will have to come to the conclusion that the phrases and forms of democracy have been used to express a class will, to sustain class dominance and so to destroy liberty and justice.

It has been so declared concerning the wholesale conviction of the I. W. W. in Chicago, in a letter to the President from the military intelligence officer who reviewed the case, a lawyer who confesses to the ordinary capitalist prejudice against the defendants. It is devoutly to be hoped that such proceedings will prove to be only a temporary obsession of democracy, a symptom of the disease of war, because when any order gets to continuously mouthing the fundamental principles of a sound social order while practically accomplishing their overthrow, it is giving evidence either of incurable corruption or of the blindness of senility.

One of the wisest of the elder statesmen of Japan, said during the European war that the East was watching the exhaustion and destruction of western civilization. Sir Edward Grey, the man who probably knows most about the inner workings of the forces which led to the present conflict and which are likely to defeat or make abortive the present attempt at the League of Nations, wrote during the war that what was involved in the conflict was the very existence of western civilization and that if ways and means are not found to bind the nations together, civilization must proceed to its decay. It cannot recover from the effects of another conflict on the present scale. It is also evident that the same consequence follows the failure to prevent a general class war. If the class conflict develops in all the industrial nations to the full extent of its possibility, it will mean the complete exhaustion of civilization and the wasting of all its resources. Older civilizations have perished from the shock of lesser conflicts. The universal world upheaval of the present hour means nothing less than that an old order is on its deathbed and a new order is struggling for birth. If the struggle is unduly prolonged, the new order will be stillborn and darkness will descend upon the earth.

This is one of the sober possibilities of the situation. It

is therefore imperative to find a safe deliverance for the new world that is seeking for life. It is impossible to believe that the possibilities of existence upon this planet are limited to the alternative of a social order which has become intolerable to millions of human beings and the destruction of all that has been gained since the days of barbarism in the attempt to change it. There must be another way and it is the business of those who call themselves educated to find it. To them comes the cry of the people, who must have knowledge lest they perish. It is necessary to know how much of the old must remain to nourish for a time the life of the new as well as how much needs to be buried in the great graveyard of the war with no hope of resurrection.

Because there is never any absolute break between one era of human life and another, it seems to many people that to talk about a new order is mere rhetorical exaggeration or at least a lazy use of terms. This is one result of the universal understanding or misunderstanding of the evolutionary nature of human development. A generation ago the evolutionary view of life was one of the indisputable marks of radicalism; to-day it is one of the chosen shelters of the conservatives where they can sleep with a sense of security. There are no breaks in the course of progress, the old and the new intermingle until change is accomplished insensibly, so the formula runs. But those who thus comfort themselves overlook the fact that in the evolutionary process there occur new kinds as well as new forms of life and that sometimes the old must die to bring forth the new. A new order may involve then a new kind of social living, a sharp break from the past. The lesser changes in human organization are the further applications of principles already accepted and operating, as for example the extension of the suffrage. The greater changes are the acceptances of principles which have not previously been organized into action, as for example the establishment

of a republic. In either case a new order begins for those affected by it. Its significance is not diminished because it must necessarily carry over much from the past, in institution as well as in habit and custom. The Pilgrim Fathers brought much from Europe besides seeds and tools, but they fashioned as well as found a new world. The Russian Socialist Republic is compelled to call into service men and methods of capitalist industry, but it is nevertheless beginning a new economic order. The degree in which a new order must break from the past will naturally be determined by the nature and extent of the social relationships that it changes, and also by the degree to which its central principles have previously been recognized and organized. The economic revolution in Russia is much more significant and far-reaching within and without that country than the political revolution. The latter meant a new order for Russia whose principles and practice had long been accepted elsewhere; the former proposes principles and establishes a practice which would mean a new order for the rest of the world.

A new order is conceived when a sufficient number of people consciously accept a principle or a set of principles that require a significant change in political or economic organization. It is born when they gather enough adherents to organize its principles into social action. It may be born in a night with great travail and tumult or it may come imperceptibly to life and consciousness through long days of slow and patient striving. In either event its further development is a process of the gradual perception of the meaning and necessary application of its inherent principles. It took a long time for it to become apparent that the principles which brought men to these shores to escape the tyranny of a state church also required them to rebel against the British crown. It has taken a long time to make it clear that the principles which required a democratic state also require a democratic

form of economic organization. The Kingdom of God upon the earth is the gradual outworking and organization of the Kingdom of God that is within or among us, according to whether we are thinking in individual or social terms. The new order is flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone and heart of our heart, but it is also a new life. It is such stuff as dreams are made of, gradually taking to itself the form and substance, the vitality and action of the waking world. It is constantly coming and never here, but there are times and seasons when a perceptible gain is made in its realization, and this is one of them.

In magnitude, nature and consequences, one of the greatest changes in human history is now occurring, involving all humanity and all the institutions of society and its customs. Men everywhere are seeking a way to live together so that the nations may never again be drawn into war, so that there shall be freedom and development for all peoples. This means changing the political status of the subject peoples and the social status of the working class, and such changes would make a new order in a very vital sense. But the present purpose of mankind does not stop even at that point. There are literally millions of men and women for whom life has been more limited than it has for others, or than it needs to be, who are bent not only upon changing the social status of their class or race but upon fashioning a social order in which no class or race shall be condemned to an inferior position. That is indeed a far-reaching purpose. The present rough stratification of society into three classes has existed at least since the days of Babylon and how much earlier no man knows. It has survived all intervening political and economic developments. The organization of the French and American Republics shook it a little but left it still upon a firm foundation. The industrial revolution occasioned by the invention of the power machine changed the constituency of the classes some-

what but left the line between them, if anything, sharper than before. Yet the advent of political democracy and the industrial revolution made inevitable the final overthrow of the class system by exalting the principle of brotherhood and supplying both the technical capacity and the power of mass organization which make possible its realization in daily living. In recent times the democratic peoples have been attempting to order their lives by certain principles whose meaning and implications have been but partially perceived. The very impetus of their previous manner of life now necessitates the further extension and application of those principles. In form, the new order will be the application of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity to economic organization. The organization of economic democracy will constitute a greater change in human affairs than the development of political democracy, because it touches more of the relationships of life and touches them more intimately. It affects the sources and means of nourishment for all social institutions, for the family, education and religion; it has also to do with their nature and purpose. It is the whole manner of doing the work of the world and of living together that is in vital respects to be changed if democracy is to complete itself in economic relations.

This can only be accomplished by common agreement and choice concerning the way of life. It involves governmental and economic organization to carry out the common choice in coöperative, harmonious action. It goes deeper and involves changes in the nature as well as the form of life. It requires that life be animated by the spirit of comradeship instead of the spirit of selfishness, that it be driven by the will to serve instead of the will to power, that it seek a higher end than the laying up of treasures upon the earth. Here is the core of the matter. Social progress is at heart a moral and religious process. It proceeds from conduct that is

purely instinctive to conduct that is the result of a reasoned choice of ends and of the means to attain them. In its social conduct hitherto, mankind has mainly followed the line of least resistance. Its choice of ends and of means has been largely determined by immediate self-interest. With the choice of following those of its instincts which led in the direction of antagonism and conflict or those which led toward mutuality and fraternity, it has listened most to the former and has been misled. Therefore its reason has been continually defeated by the acquisitive and combative instincts which have led it to a social policy of laying up treasures and fighting to defend and even to acquire them. This policy has led to disaster and an impossible situation. The way out is to follow another motive than that of self-interest, to enlarge the power of the instinct for mutual aid which has ever been challenging the instincts of acquisition and combat to become its yoke fellows, to develop and apply those principles of social action by which with infinite difficulty man has achieved such measure of common action and such degree of fellowship as now obtains. The new order involves a conscious choice of the highest, most difficult end for human life. Its goal must be the unfolding of personality; its form the democratic coöperation of life through which it will continually approach its goal and express its spirit, in and through fellowship in all the undertakings of life to the widest possible extent between all people and with the Eternal Spirit of the Universe, whom men have ever sought to know and with whom they have ever desired to work.

PART I

PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ORDER

CHAPTER II

EQUALITY

The charter of modern democracy contains two immortal phrases. One of them was the slogan of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." The other was the deliberate declaration of the American Revolution that "all men have equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These proclamations have never yet become reality. They still challenge us as great expressions of the imperishable ideals of humanity. Mankind will still move towards them. Governments which call themselves democracies are therefore dedicated to the realization of their ideals and must continually be examined in the light of them. There has recently been much shouting for democracy, but nevertheless it is evident that the Declaration of Independence is not so popular as it used to be in the United States. In the agricultural regions on the fourth of July it is still quoted, but in the large centers of wealth, in those circles of power and prestige which call themselves "the better classes," the constitution, which limits the rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence, is a good deal more popular. There, equality of rights is not infrequently denied as dangerous in theory and impossible in practice. Fortunately, however, the financial and social inequalities which undermine the intellectual and spiritual foundations of democracy at one end of the social scale operate to strengthen them at the other. As long as there are any number of people who do not find themselves able to secure "equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," those people, whose number is still

"legion," will give to the principle of equality not a sentimental approval but an inflexible determination. They will continue to change not only the machinery of government but also the nature of the social order in the direction of this common ideal.

The Declaration of Independence, like the French slogan of democracy, is first of all an announcement of political emancipation, and the great principles therein set forth have therefore been carried to partial expression in the field of political action. Liberty, for the men who established the republics of France and the United States, meant freedom from external control. It meant the right to determine their own political destiny, to constitute their own government, to choose their own officials. But this political freedom also carried with it the hope of a larger measure of equality in the social order. Behind those movements for political freedom there was also the desire and aspiration to develop a form of society in which there should not be the gross inequalities which characterized the life of Europe and which have been a feature of every advanced civilization in every period of the world's history. Political democracy was to be a means to this end. It is today quite obvious that the means and the end are inseparable, that the achievement of a greater degree of social equality throughout mankind depends upon the achievement of political freedom and political equality, and also that the further development of political freedom depends upon the removal of existing social inequalities.

The development of democracy makes increasingly clear the interdependence and indeed the organic union of liberty and equality and fraternity. Only free men are equal, and only men who in many important respects are equal can ever be completely free or fraternal. Those who have unequal rights and privileges will necessarily control, or patronize, or "welfare" the others. When the passion for freedom moves

men, it sends them in the direction of equality and fraternity. Democracy now finds that it cannot stop with the achievement of political freedom. It discovers that the content of freedom continually enlarges itself, that it means not only freedom from restraint but freedom of development; the opportunity for the positive expression of personality in the direction of a chosen ideal. Under the necessary limitations of life in an ordered society, or indeed in any social group, this must always be an elusive goal. But at least there may be equality of limitation and of opportunity, if not absolute, yet in infinitely greater degree than any social order has yet achieved. And it is in this direction that humanity now moves.

The ancient passion for liberty is again stirring the souls of men throughout the world, and this time it is conscious as never before that freedom involves equality. This is to be seen in the demand of the smaller nations, the subject nationalities and the undeveloped peoples for self-control and self-expression, both in matters governmental and economic. They do not desire to be either subject or inferior to the "Great Powers." The same fact is to be seen again in the demands of the industrial and agricultural workers. They are seeking to free themselves from the control of others over their conditions of work and the disposition of the fruits of their toil. They are seeking also a development for their children more nearly equal to that of other classes in the community. The spirit of freedom led our forefathers long ago to have done with monarchy and to organize a republic. If it should presently appear that the desire of men for the newer freedom involving more social equality cannot be reasonably satisfied under our present form of government, the spirit of freedom will proceed once again to develop another form. This will be only an incidental part of its task of creating a new social order.

The long and arduous struggle for political freedom has achieved a very large measure of human liberty. It is now the fashion in some quarters to depreciate the gains secured by political democracy. But the achievement of equality of political rights is basic for future progress. If that be not granted or secured, there can be no further extension of equality. The political doctrine of equal rights, broadly speaking, maintains the equal right of all peoples to determine their own government, the equal right of all citizens to express and seek to give effect to their political choices, the right to equality of treatment under the common law, both for nations and individuals. Behind this political doctrine is the philosophy of natural rights, which teaches that the rights which men sought to organize in a democratic form of government were inherent to human nature, men are born with them. This teaching later developed into the political philosophy of the eighteenth century—that men contracted together in society and in government to observe and secure their natural rights. This is the contract theory of government which Rousseau expressed most vigorously, which was the formative philosophy of the French and American Revolutions, and which has powerfully influenced the whole course of modern democracy.

The first appearance of the philosophy is in the teachings of the Stoic school, who derived their doctrine of natural rights from Socrates. The later Stoics of Rome expressed very clearly their conviction that men have certain natural rights and that there is a natural law which requires the mutual observance of these rights. From that presupposition there followed the conclusion that the state should express and maintain this natural law. Therefore the Roman Stoics taught that slavery was an interference with natural rights. The teaching of the Stoics was the first great blow that slavery received. Jesus carried this teaching still further. He taught the supreme value of personality, which of course underlies

the theory of natural rights, in a sense unknown to the Greeks or Romans. He taught "the infinite worth of the downmost man." The Greek philosophers who taught a theory of natural rights, ignored the great body of slaves. The Roman Stoics saw that slavery was the negation of this teaching; but Jesus' principle was that the bottom man in society had claim to all the rights which anybody else enjoyed, both in his relations to his fellow man and in his relations to God.

This is a positive teaching with immeasurable constructive force. It ever stimulates the desire of all humanity, and especially of the people at the bottom of society, to realize their inherent rights, to make privilege universally possible. It calls them on the one hand to develop their personalities until they become the kind of people which Jesus said they might be, and on the other hand to secure such governmental and social arrangements as will not limit their opportunity to become the kind of people which they themselves feel they could be.

When modern democracy thus recounts the debt it owes to Socrates and to Jesus, it will do well to remember that they were both rebels and martyrs, both of them put to death by established society for teachings which were said to be contrary to its foundations. In the light of this fact democracy may well examine its attitude toward the rebels of to-day. The teachings of the Stoics and of Jesus concerning the natural rights and values of mankind came in due time to northern and western Europe. There they united with the natural independence of tribes to whom freedom was the very breath of their nostrils; people who were not used to call anybody "master"; who long refused to accept or acknowledge the sway of the Roman Empire. Their unconquerable spirit of freedom has been strengthened and made constructive by this teaching which they came to accept and are still trying to carry out.

From these natural and philosophical backgrounds has developed a great and growing ideal of equality; shared alike by philosophers and teachers of religion it has become the heritage and the goal of millions of common people the world over, an irresistible compulsion to far-reaching, social changes.

Before considering the present development in this ideal, its next expressions in human organization, it is necessary to briefly summarize its political application. There is always a negative as well as a positive effect from any great principle. While on the one hand it stirs people to endeavor to realize it, on the other hand it stirs them to attack its opposites. Consequently when the great teachings of natural equality and the supreme worth of personality were let loose in the ancient world in which slavery was the basic fact, it meant at once that slavery was brought to judgment. Gradually, there came the emancipation of the slaves and the removal of the disabilities which had formerly attached to them. Of course there were other forces at work to remove slavery from the world besides this religious and philosophic teaching. There was a gradual change of economic and social structure which made slavery unnecessary and unprofitable. Then there came into the situation the social practices of Christianity; for while the Stoic philosophers taught the equal rights of man, Christianity proceeded to realize them in some measure, by bringing together the slave and the master to eat a common meal at a common table. By this simple religious custom the new religion continually delivered a powerful blow against the prestige and validity of the institution of slavery against which its principles were also continually, if indirectly, operating. Finally the basic social inequality of the ancient Roman Empire, which was the distinction between freemen and slaves, was removed in the western world by the abolition of chattel slavery. The process however is more complete

in the world of ideas than in the world of facts. In the United States, both in the north and the south, the colored people still suffer from the inheritance of their previous condition of servitude. Still others of the disabilities of the slaves have been transferred to their industrial descendants, the wage earners. The same ideal which called the American people to remove the inequality of slavery, now calls them to remove the inequalities of other industrial and social institutions that have descended from the same ancient world in which slavery was organized.

The next significant expression of the ideal of equality was the attempt to secure equality before the law. When the community first began to democratize justice, it took the control of punishment out of private hands; it began to make some rules of universal application. The process of the democratization of justice has been the continuous and expanding restraint of the strong by common control; first the slayer, then the avenger, then the autocratic head of the family, and then the stronger classes, who, time and time again have used the established procedure of law and justice in order to enforce their will upon weaker social groups.

In large degree the development of law has been the result of the struggle of inferior groups to limit the power of their superiors and win equality. These long and tragic struggles constitute a large part of the history of democracy. They began in the old Roman Empire before the Stoics taught or Jesus preached, when the slaves by hundreds of thousands organized themselves for rebellion and in the great slave wars flung themselves against the might of the imperial legions. The same motive appeared in the western world when the nobility began to limit the power of the kings. The barons wrote the Magna Charta, not because they loved the common people, but because they did not like to have the king limit their rights. It was the inevitable next step that the

peasants should revolt against the barons and that the merchants should later demand and secure equality under the law with the nobility and that this should in time be demanded of the trading class by the wage earners. It is equally inevitable that the wage earners should gain the rights which other classes have successively secured.

The greatest single step in equality under the law was taken when it was provided that a man imperiled of his liberty or life should be tried by a jury of his peers. The theory of justice is to develop a common code and to form the jury of all classes. This is the nearest approximation to equality of right in a class divided society. In cases involving class interests a packed jury is almost inevitable because different classes interpret the common code according to their class interest. If a jury of nobles tried a merchant or a jury of merchants tried a serf, it was not a jury of equals. That right at first applied only to the nobility. A man was tried by his class according to the code of his class. But until a common code is established it is inequality and injustice for a jury of one class to try a member of another. If there are distinct classes between whom there is prejudice, antagonism and conflict, it is obvious that there cannot be a jury of one's peers if it is composed entirely of folk of another class. That is why we have been getting results which are not only less than justice, but in contradiction to justice in some recent prosecutions of Socialists and I. W. W.'s. The juries have been hopelessly prejudiced; they have in some cases been deliberately composed of an entirely different class from the person who is under trial; a class with other interests and convictions.

For a long time it has been a familiar criticism of our courts that inequalities of wealth destroy equality under the law. It is a matter of common knowledge that it is not possible for the rich and the poor to have the same kind of defense in

the courts. The delays of the law, the personal and social ties of officials are all on one side. It is not possible for rich and poor to have even the same standing before the law. The poor man's son in the tenement district will be arrested for something for which the policeman in the suburbs would not think of arresting the son of a prominent business man. The same thing occasionally applies to the fathers. The boast of a democracy that it guarantees equality under the law has to face a more fundamental fact than the effect of wealth direct and indirect, upon its officers and processes of law and justice. It must consider whether it is possible to achieve equality before the law in a class divided society whose social inequalities are now a matter of contest between the classes. In such a case does law and order become the weapon of the class which can control it? Recently a national labor convention met to demand a new trial for Thomas Mooney, a labor leader of San Francisco, sentenced to death and commuted to life imprisonment on the charge of exploding a bomb during a preparedness parade. The major testimony was later shown to be perjured. The presiding judge, the state's highest law officer and a presidential commission have all recommended a new trial. It requires the amendment of the Constitution of the state. The controlling class refuses. At the convention the western delegates declared very emphatically that after two years of trying to get a square deal they had now lost all hope in legal procedure and wanted to try other methods. Mr. Bourke Cochran, the New York lawyer who appeared for Mooney, his first labor case, is on record as saying that "the most powerful propaganda of anarchism and Bolshevism ever let loose on this earth is the condemnation of Mooney and his continuous imprisonment obtained by methods so abhorrent to justice that the conscience of Christendom should be shocked by it." The dangerous result of this and similar recent events is their effect on the attitude of those who will

presently remake our legal machinery to the historic process out of which it has developed.

The issue goes deeper than a defect of machinery or the influence of wealth. It is the question of whether, in a society in which the classes are in conflict, any justice is possible except class justice. The two orders clash in the courts. It is like the barons trying the peasants, or the peasants trying the barons. The workers trying the capitalists would not be likely to make any better job of it than the capitalists have made in trying the workers. Those who still believe that equality of rights before the law is essential to the stability and progress of human society are now confronted with a situation in which they must consider what are the causes of the class antagonism that appears to make equality under the law impossible, and how these causes may be removed.

The next approach of political democracy toward equality, after its endeavor to guarantee equality of rights before the law, was in the matter of the suffrage. This has been continuously extended on the principle that everybody should have equal rights in choosing the government. The philosophical formula is that everybody should count as one and nobody as more than one. Conceiving the political world in mathematical terms, universal suffrage and majority rule is an infallible device for securing political equality. But the device works automatically only in a mathematical world in which all people are theoretically of equal political weight and value. Such people going to the ballot box at stated times, with unfettered opportunity for political discussion, would have equal political rights. Each would be able to count as one in making or changing the will of the majority. But fortunately or otherwise, the world is not logic nor mathematics, and in those countries which have the widest extension of the franchise many people do not count at all in political decisions and others continually count a great deal

more than one. It becomes necessary then to look beyond the popular panacea of universal equal suffrage if political equality is to be secured either for individuals or for classes.

The political idealism of the people of the great middle class in the United States roots in a profound faith in the value of universal suffrage. Giving as the reason for their belief the accomplishments already achieved under it in this country and in other parts of the world, they believe that the future development of human life is to be secured by extending it to regions where it has not yet been allowed to obtain. This is probably what most of them meant by seeking to make the world "safe for democracy." Having met the autocrats of the old world on this issue, they must now meet the growing army of idealists among the working class who contend that political democracy is totally inadequate to meet the needs of the present situation; that it is powerless to remove the social inequalities created by the prevailing mode of economic organization, that its own dearly won bill of rights is by them continually limited and even abrogated. It is time for the champions of political democracy to consider wherein it does and wherein it does not afford "equal rights to all."

For some years our political scientists have been busy pointing out certain particulars in which the machinery of political democracy does not produce the things for which it was intended and of which it boasts. Their main contention is that we now have a delegated instead of a representative government, because the people have permitted, at many points, decisions concerning their welfare to pass into the hands of officials who are not chosen by them and over whom their control is so indirect as to be ineffective. For instance, who does the Postmaster-General represent or the State Department, or the local assessor? The other aspect of the question is that the representative portions of our government often represent neither the average citizen nor the will of the

majority. Who does the controlling faction in the Senate represent for example? The trail of the muck raker and of the investigator has long been broad in the land and the records of their explorations are piled high in our libraries. They tell a sufficient story of the control of councils, legislatures and courts to demonstrate the fact that our present machinery of legislation and law enforcement gives to powerful minorities an unequal opportunity to control or defeat the will and purpose of the majority.

The familiar exhortations to good citizenship contribute little to the situation. The popular denunciations of corrupt politicians and the unidentified "men higher up" are equally ineffective. More is to be gained from the wisdom of the political scientist concerning the inadequacy for our present complex mode of life of governmental machinery devised in a simple state of society. Still more light and leading will come from a true understanding of the relation of class interests to political power. Recently the street railway company on whose lines I ride two or three times a week, raised its fare from five to seven cents by order of the Public Service Commission. I had no opportunity, equal to that of the stockholders of the company to register my judgment on that matter, so vital to the well-being of many families. I could not even get at the facts necessary for judgment. The directors of that company have found it easy to get at the political machinery which dealt with that situation, while for me it was a practical impossibility. It is not sufficient to tell me to "get busy and be a good citizen." If I attend to my civic duties ever so rigorously can I get equal representation in matters of public service with the investors in the corporations that carry them on for a profit? Recently a sub-committee of the United States Senate conducted what purported to be an investigation into the situation in Russia under Soviet rule. As the proceeding developed it became evident that it was

being directed in part by another department of the government which naturally desired to have its own judgment and policy sustained, and for the class interests of the committee, which would be affected by the success of a socialist government. Therefore most significant testimony concerning constructive developments in Russia was ignored and refused a hearing. Who then is represented in the report of that committee? What representation is there for the people who are vitally concerned to know whether or not there is anything of constructive value in the Soviet program?

A political journalist writes from Washington concerning the opening of congress after the war: "Labor will have no voice in its deliberations. A body largely made up of lawyers and local politicians will be called upon to debate and solve the deepest economic problems in the history of the land. The Congress quite definitely is a class Congress, and in the present situation its legislation will deal largely with the class which it does not represent. This of course has been true of any congress since the substantial growth of industrialism; but to-day the whole industrial movement has been suddenly and violently precipitated by the war."

A part of the trouble is that the machinery of life itself has become too complicated to enable all the people to get equal expression and representation through our present political methods. There are political disabilities attached automatically to certain occupations, for lack of time to use the machinery of government and lack of influence with those who operate it. Broadly speaking these attach to an entire class, as do the corresponding privileges. So that I cannot be equal with another man merely by having my vote counted equally with his. If I belong to a limited class in the community—the class which is financially and socially and intellectually powerful—my interests get automatically protected by the government whether I am politically active or not. But if

I belong to the larger class whose power and prestige is not so great, I have to be very active indeed to get any particular representation in the government and even then I may not be able to get as much representation as automatically goes to the members of the more powerful group. In a recent letter urging employers to attend a session of the Illinois Legislature, at which an anti-injunction bill was voted upon, the Secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers Association wrote: "Union labor will be there in force and the influence of one manufacturer is equal to the influence of twenty-five shop men." We are touching here, of course, not only one of the root defects of political democracy but of any system of government. We are touching what has been called the "original depravity of state nature"; that is, an inherent defect in the nature of the state itself from which the most democractic form of it can never be exempt. In any form of human association that can be devised some will count more than others. In many respects it is important to see to it that none counts more than one. In many respects it is equally important to see to it that each counts for all that he is worth. The problem for democracy is to make each count for all that is in him for the common good and to prevent any from counting more than one to the limitation of the development of others. That the present political machine enables quite often the minority to rule does not therefore mean that it is hopelessly defective. But if it is true that equal rights are approximated only when the majority can rule, we ought at least to be able to get such political perfection out of a machine erected for that particular purpose that the majority and not the minority shall actually control the direction of affairs most of the time.

In the attempt to limit the control of minority groups, many reform measures have in recent years been advocated and some of them adopted. But the ax has not yet been laid to the root of the tree. The fundamental question is not

whether our political machine enables a corrupt minority or a special privileged class to direct our affairs, but whether our present social order does not make it inevitable that a minority should control, if not the minority which has the most economic power then the minority which is the best educated, the best able to determine both what it wants and how to get it. The ultimate question is not whether the bad people, being presumably a minority, are going to direct us; but whether the good people, if in the minority, are going to control the rest. That is the question that the Soviet in Russia and the Constitution of the United States alike have to face. No matter what may be decreed in the nature of institutions designed to give equality of rights to all citizens and to all groups and classes, it is inevitable under our present social order, and indeed as long as its inequalities remain in the blood and bone of the race, that a minority should control. Therefore there is to-day something more fundamental than a political machine to be reformed; if the goal of equality is to be further pursued, it is the entire social structure that has to be changed, and finally the very constitution of human nature. Those who accept the ideal will not shirk the task it lays upon them.

Whatever its defects, the democratic state continually makes a vital contribution to human progress by challenging men to pursue the ideal of equality of rights. It thus contains the healing for its own ills. If equality is impossible, what is life worth apart from the pursuit of the impossible? If there is an incurable weakness in humanity, making it inevitable that some should be stronger than others and that any institution devised for equality of rights should sooner or later fall into the control of the strong, then one of the real meanings of life is to be found in the perpetual struggle against this autocratic tendency of human nature and human institutions. If this be true, then it must be remembered that society has

now developed to the point where a somewhat general education makes the control of reason widely prevalent, so that nations and communities no longer act solely from instinctive motives but quite generally by reasoned processes. It is at least true that the principle of democracy, having been developed largely by instinctive process has now been generally approved by the reason of mankind. The great need now is for action and organization and extended application rather than for further definition. And of course if the people of intelligence accept the principle of democracy and then do not go to work to perfect it, their intelligence soon ceases to function and their idealism becomes sterile.

Some people offer the suggestion that the reason for the failure of our political machine to more truly represent the majority is because it has become the means of economic exploitation and the means of economic repression for those who are skillful enough to thus use it. The familiar phrase of certain economists is that the state has become the "political means of economic aggregation"—that instead of adequately representing the political desires and actions of the people, it comes nearer representing the economic desires and purposes of a limited group of property holders. The people who hold this view trace the situation back to the fact that society in the modern period has been organized around property, and government and law have therefore become to a large extent the mere protector of property. They point, for example, to the different values attributed by the courts to the dividends of investors and the health of wage earners, and to the failure to enforce social legislation after it has been won by a great struggle. After the political machine has proved adequate for the will of the majority to be recorded in progressive legislation, then special interests are able to block the enforcement of that legislation. A notable example was the Colorado coal strike where five out of seven of the miners' demands had

been already ordered by the laws of the state, but could not be secured by the miners in the actual administration of the industry. Then those who hold this point of view argue that as long as we have our present economic order it is inevitable that the state should become a class institution and should reflect the will of the group having economic power. That is one of the difficulties which those statesmen at Paris who were genuinely anxious to rid the world of militarism and redeem the people of the future from the curse of war, have had to face. How can they do that without solving the problem of the reconstruction of the economic order, without organizing society for a different purpose than the acquisition of possessions, which is now its main objective. The two problems they wrestled with were the question of reparation and the danger to the future peace of the world from an aggressive nation. Would not these two questions have been easier of solution if the economic order were readjusted to a search for the general welfare instead of a struggle for gain? The question is whether the world has now enough energy left, and sufficient capacity for social organization, to commence that task, more fundamental than a League of Nations; and whether, having these capacities, it has nerve enough at present to try the undertaking.

In any event those who bear in their bodies and spirits the burden of our present inequalities have manifestly determined not any longer to acquiesce in them. They are minded not to transmit them to their children, at least without a struggle. They are seeking how to extend to other spheres of life such equality as political democracy has guaranteed them at the ballot box and they now raise the question of social democracy. Political democracy rests upon the principle of equal rights for all; social democracy shouts the slogan of equal opportunities for all, and thereby gives a new worth and a new challenge to the democratic state. Our modern

peoples struggling after democracy are interested in political equality as a means to secure wider equality of social living. They seek some general level of cultural advantages for all the people; not a dead level, but some better average than we have yet been able to show. It must be remembered that when our political democracy was adopted, the Tories were also here, and their descendants are yet with us. So that along with our widespread belief in democracy, we also have, in many quarters, a pretty general acceptance of the traditions of aristocracy. Our educational institutions have perhaps been our most potent force in maintaining and extending a certain tradition and spirit of social democracy in their assertion of the open door policy in regard to higher education. But they need now to examine themselves very closely as to whether theoretically and practically their education is not after all aristocratic rather than democratic; as to whether they are educating a few of the people rather than all of the people; as to whether they really want the same opportunities for all the people that are now being given to the few. The real test of the democracy of our educational system is its attitude to whatever economic changes may be found necessary to maintain the open door policy in education, now that the limitation of financial opportunity through the prior claim of the first comers and their descendants upon our national resources is continually pushing shut the door of educational opportunity.

We have evidence of an ideal of social democracy in the admiration of the American people for the achievements of energy and toil. We have it again in the common contempt for mere wealth and luxury which is still the dominant sentiment of the American people apart from a few financial centers and their parasitic appendages. The same thing can be seen in contradictory terms even among the plutocratic would-be aristocracy when they insist upon ignoring the fact

and consequence of the class distinctions so obvious in our city life. In those parts of the country which are a little farther removed from the debilitating influence of inherited wealth and European contacts, even in the circles which pride themselves upon their social leadership, it amounts to high treason to say that there are class distinctions in America. The very people who pride themselves on superiority, who insist upon deference from "trades-people" and "servants" will yet maintain that class distinctions do not exist in the "home of the brave and the land of the free." It is interesting to remember that when railroads were first organized in this country the conductors refused to wear uniforms because they would not be marked as a separate servant group. We still react against the degradation of "tips." True, the tradition that it is un-American to accept tips is fading fast, but its existence is an evidence that in the early days we had a tradition of social as well as political democracy. One of the minor manifestations of the new life which the spirit of social democracy is now finding in old lands is the fact that the waiters in the hotels and restaurants of Soviet Hungary proudly refuse to accept tips from those whom they serve.

The most vital expression of the American ideal of social democracy has been its provision of opportunities for higher education for women and for the children of those who in Europe are called "the working classes," and are there almost universally denied such opportunities. In Europe the possession of a university degree and even the attainment of "secondary education" is almost without exception a badge of class distinction. Another striking evidence of our ideal of social democracy is our foreign missionary activity. One of the strongest motives in that endeavor has been the desire to extend equal opportunity for development to the backward peoples, that they might share with us in whatever cultural advantages had come our way.

Professor Walter Rauschenbush used to say that the best example of democracy he knew (and the best approach to the Utopia that so many people fear) was the small college town of the Middle West, where the fundamental American ideals dominate, where there is not any great wealth but a general average of income and a high general average of intelligence, cultural attainment and religion. Where in the world is there to be found a more delightful, democratic community than in some of those small college towns? But what makes that condition possible? A somewhat general average of financial resources with its corresponding average of educational opportunity. The same thing holds true in a somewhat lesser degree for the general small town of the Middle West; but just as soon as that small town gets dominated by any group much richer than the rest, democracy begins to break and class differences and distinctions come in. It is then a general average of income and wealth that makes possible the general average of attainment and this general democracy of life that we like to think of as typically American. In like manner a great inequality of income and wealth makes impossible the attainment of as much social democracy as this country has developed, which is far more its distinction than any of its political forms and institutions.

The spirit of the American people is essentially idealistic and they dearly love the illusions of their ideals. But if their ideal of social democracy is to remain active, they must pierce the illusion that their ideal is self-supporting in mid-air. They must now see that it has always rested upon the economic fact of immense natural resources, undeveloped, unappropriated. Now that these resources have been largely appropriated it becomes impossible to maintain under our present order of affairs that measure of social democracy which has heretofore been the pride and glory of many of our communities. The middle class of the United States is becoming a

class of privilege even as the aristocracy of Europe. Therefore the middle class, even in our smaller, more democratic communities, had better begin to ask themselves whether their degree of equality does not rest on an economic basis that means deprivation for others. They had better not sit down now in their abode of comfort on a lately discovered and developed continent, thanking God that their lives have been cast in pleasant places and ignoring the fact that there are children of tenant farmers nearby, who are getting less education than the labor of an earlier generation upon the soil made possible, because the rent has to go to the family that is living in the town. Also they will do well to consider what it means for the development of social democracy if they are drawing income from industries where conditions are such that the children of workers can never get the kind of health and education which their own children enjoy.

The commonly accepted definition of social equality is equal opportunity for the full development and expression of the capacities of all the people. If we could ever secure a social order in which every child that was born would have an equal opportunity with every other child for the development and expression of all the capacities that were inherent within that child, we would have reached this ideal of social democracy. But there would still remain something more to be done, if the full content of the concept of equality is to be unfolded. Already our social idealism demands, and our social science and social organization attempts, the removal of inherited limitations. There are certain inequalities of capacity which have been proved by science to be possible of removal; for example, the inherited weaknesses due to preventable diseases, under-nourishment, fatigue or immoralities of parents. Therefore society cannot rest content even when it has achieved a measure of equal opportunity after birth. It must then try and secure a greater level of equality at birth through

the removal of inherited limitations. This attempt leads into the almost unexplored field of the possible improvement of the human species through better parentage. Thus does the ideal of equality continuously challenge the human spirit. A dead level of capacity is both undesirable and apparently contrary to nature. But as long as inequalities exist, the democratic conscience is challenged to find out whether they are inevitable. It has been discovered that certain differences of intelligence among children are absolute. But the spirit of democracy declines to accept these differences as final and irreducible for the future until it has discovered their relation to a long-transmitted wrong environment or wrong parentage or both. With a universe which provides for the permanent production of the specially able we have no quarrel. A universe that necessitates the permanently deficient is one that we refuse to accept. Mankind will challenge it or die rebelling against it.

Meantime the present effort toward equality is an attempt to remove certain gross inequalities. It is undeniable that in the United States, with all our political democracy and with our still vigorous tradition of social democracy, we still have present with us many social inequalities which apparently are gaining in strength. The "equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," is not to be achieved at the ballot box. The vote of the man who has to work ten hours a day at exhausting or monotonous toil will count as much in the ballot box as mine, but he has not the same opportunity for life that I have because the conditions of his work and his home limit his health; his children will not have the educational and financial opportunity that mine will have. Increasingly the intellectual and social and even the moral achievement of a certain section of our population depends not upon their will or desire, but upon what we used to call the accident of birth; which, of course, ought not to be an accident. The possibil-

ity of development for the individual now depends in many cases, not so much upon himself, but upon what the old-world phrase ignorantly and irreligiously calls "that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him." The better and the lower classes so called, are increasingly marked off from one another. While we never cease to congratulate ourselves upon having escaped the inherited class system of feudal Europe, yet nevertheless our industrial development is bringing with it a gradation of classes which is already taking the same rigid form that obtains in the older world. There is increasingly a greater difference between the life of the small town and the life of the great city, and as long as these differences exist, political equality seems to our workmen to be a somewhat barren achievement. There are sections of our cities where the Declaration of Independence is but "sounding brass." If it is to be fulfilled, it is necessary to secure for individuals an even start in the race of life with no handicaps and no obstructions placed before some that are not placed before others. It is the children of the working class in particular who are now handicapped, and therefore it is that class which is interested in finding out where the present inequalities of life are rooted.

This raises the question of class privilege. What is it? If we ask which class is it that exercises the larger proportion of control in our political affairs, that has a larger influence for good or for ill in our courts and our legislatures, that gets superior advantages for its children, the answer is perfectly simple and obvious. It is the people with a certain degree of income and a certain proportion of ownership in the wealth of the country. Here is the fact of power; it is economic. The strong man won it, perhaps by superior ability to begin with, and his rights then became intrenched in custom, in law and in the very constitution of society. The process will later be examined, but the fact will not be disputed that a limited

natural inequality to begin with, selfishly used, leads later to a widespread artificial inequality, maintained by "law and order." Some youth of exceptional vigor comes from a farm or a small town to the city, gains business or professional eminence, with or without great wealth, and achieves what we call "distinction." This becomes established in his family and is for his descendants a transmitted privilege with all that it involves in easy access to the means of development. The result of his difference from the rest of folk enables others, in later generations, who may not have that difference, to have certain privileges which the common run of people do not get.

Such a situation is only another form of the social cleavage that obtains in Europe where these privileges have become intrenched in a caste system. They began first of all in the ability of the strong man to carve out for himself with the sword a certain ownership of the land, and on that economic basis he "founded a family." By means of the wealth that accrued from its land that family secured privileges in education and other means of development and became what is called "the aristocracy," supposed to have more ability and often actually possessing it, supposed to have more responsibility and not infrequently endeavoring to meet the obligation.

The noteworthy fact is, that instead of trying to remove the natural inequalities between folk, we increase them by giving special privileges to the strong as the reward of their strength. Inequalities of social condition rest mainly on inequalities of income. When these inequalities of social condition reach a certain point, then future inequality of income and therefore of attainment, rests not so much on the difference in ability as on the difference in economic power. Possession of undue economic power tends to make an inequality of ability because it condemns the people deprived of their share of economic control to less of the means for the develop-

ment of life and therefore their children become less able; whereas the possessors of economic power, able to get more than the necessary means for the development of life, tend to become more able except in so far as excess leads to luxury and degeneration results. This latter possibility has been the salve for the conscience of those who have found it hard to reconcile the inequalities of our economic order with the profession of equality which their faith in democracy requires. But the theory of "shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations" has been overworked. In any event it does not help the general situation if new rulers climb to the thrones of those who have fallen. As a matter of fact those who acquire and transmit and receive wealth and economic power are constantly learning how to prevent its dissipation. A benevolent, conscientious aristocracy or plutocracy is like to prove more dangerous than one which is tyrannous and licentious. It involves just as much social deprivation for others and is more difficult to dislodge.

In our class privilege we have the vicious fact that one man's strength finally makes many weak and perpetuates that weakness. This is the social policy approved by those who say that differences of class are born with some and not with others. One of our cabinet officers recently said to a well-known journalist: "You cannot help the rich being rich and the poor being poor; the fundamental reason that I have more than some others is that God gave me brains and did not give them to the other poor fellow." The beautiful simplicity of the statement still leaves us wondering whether that man's religion, if it can be called that, will hold when his argument goes to its logical conclusion; when for example, some other man is wise enough and clever enough to take away the worthy statesman's possessions by due process of law and order. It is a common-place in the financial world. Will he then admit that the Lord gave the other man more

brains than himself? Or suppose that the "poor people" whom the Lord loved so much that he left them without an adequate supply of brains but to make up for it constituted them a great majority, should suddenly become aware of that fact and using the sound doctrine of majority rule should by constitutional process decide to expropriate this statesman's large land ownings. Will his piety still hold, and lead him to say, "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord"?

As a matter of fact, that official, being an orthodox churchman, might stop to consider what has been done by organized religion to disprove the fallacy of natural inequalities, in its education of the children of the slums and of the backward races. When time and time again it has been said that these people could not possibly be raised to the same level as others, a process of education and the proper environment has removed their so-called natural deficiencies. The change has shown that these inequalities were very largely due to environment—to social heredity and not simply to biological heredity; to the effect upon human life of a situation which was within human control and could be changed. The justifiable inference of what has already been accomplished in the removal of so-called inherited inequalities is that if we were to remove the artificial inequalities of class privilege, the natural inequalities could very much be lessened. While children would never be born equal in health or ability, there would be much less disparity than now obtains, and those who deal in the science of Eugenics would have us believe that there are scientific laws in that field which can be applied to still further lessen the so-called natural inequalities.

Those who are troubled by the impossibility and undesirability of any dead level of social equality may well consider whether in the last analysis the removal of inequality is not even more a matter of sentiment than of practical adjustment.

As long as there are not too great financial inequalities there is not much class feeling or class distinction. The workingman does not feel it much that another has more than himself if, when they meet in business or in church, or even in politics, they are man to man and they treat each other as such. He does not bother much that the other has a better house or more money; but when the difference gets so marked that there is not this mutual sentiment, when they do not stand on the same plane and talk together, when one looks down on the other and draws his children apart from the other's children, then comes class consciousness and finally class hatred. It appears that the possibility of maintaining the sentiment of equality, an elusive thing, depends ultimately upon securing the smallest possible margin of financial difference. If this gets too great there is no feeling of equality at all. But the feeling of equality, and as much of the fact as really counts, may obtain without having any dead level of economic resources or of social conditions.

There is a certain fallacy in that objection to this fundamental principle of democracy which talks a good deal about the monotony of equality. It is used mostly by those who have secured a special privilege in one way or another. It would seem obvious that we could stand a great deal less inequality than we now have without over-much monotony in life. It appears that the deprivation of multitudes of people of both the stimulus and the means to development through the artificial inequalities of the present order occasions a considerable amount of monotony at both ends of society. There is more variety in the middle, where there is less inequality of income. I think it is open to demonstration that the middle class has developed a much greater degree of variety in individuals than is now to be found at either extreme of society. The people who are afraid of the monotony that might come from more equality in income and economic power will need to

reckon with the fact that there is a terrible amount of monotony above the luxury line and below the poverty line. Folks run pretty true to type and form in both of these groups. The reason probably is that the people below the poverty line have to a large extent been deprived of the hope as well as the opportunity for any marked self-development. It is as if somebody had taken and clipped off the whole population like a hedge at a dead level and said, "above this you cannot go." On the other hand, the people above the luxury line also are deprived of much of the incentive to development; too much is easily within their reach and grasp; too much comes without asking or seeking. If variety of individual development is wanted, if it is desired to bring out all the possibilities of human nature, it would seem as though gross inequalities of income must be removed.

Consider the middle class family with educational ideals and high ethical and religious standards; the family whose income enables it to provide all its children equally with all needed means of development and give a guarantee of support during the educational period, and see what happens. There is not much monotony of type among the children—they are not like peas in a pod. Are they as much alike as the pleasure-seeking children of the idle rich, or the early-working children of the over-driven poor? They are given equal means for equal development up to a certain point, but what occurs in the final result depends of course upon the individual initiative and energy in taking hold of the opportunities for higher educational training that are thus put within reach. The point at which self-help should come in is open to argument. It is probably variable according to temperament and kind of ability. In getting a college education for example, the golden mean lies between having to make one's way entirely and having a large family income at command. If things work out this way in the family, why would it not be

beneficial in society at large for equal means for development up to a certain point to be provided for all and progress after that point made dependent upon individual initiative, the means being accessible on reasonable terms. Would not society be likely to get everywhere the variety that is now found in the American middle class group which is demonstrably a much greater variety than is found either among the idle rich or the submerged poor?

It would also seem as though nature was not very much afraid of monotony; nature seems to furnish about the same opportunities for development to all members of the same species in the same locality. If there is a shortage of rain, all trees go short; if there is enough, they all get about the same chance at it. There is in nature a good deal of equality in the means of subsistence or the lack of them and yet not much monotony as the result of that. The concept of equality that involves a dead level of monotony is absolutely strained and artificial. If it were desirable, it could never be realized. It is certain that the inequalities which debar many from the opportunity for adequate nourishment and education can be removed without getting anything of a deadening effect in the community. A lot of leveling-up in the direction of equality can be done without at all endangering the variety of life.

Our theory of social democracy has been that we would give everybody an equal opportunity to climb to the top. How much does that theory underlie our educational system? Men who are supposed to be able to think still glorify the possibility of a newsboy becoming President. Not only our successful men of affairs, but most of our middle class idealists still cherish the illusion that the door to the temple of Fame and Power is wide open to all. They are still living in the United States of a generation ago. They have never stopped to think that the more complex our social organization becomes, the less possible is it to give everybody an equal op-

portunity to climb up. They have never completed their social scheme. Their dream of equality in terms only of opportunity has never shown itself to them in its final perfect form of an inverted pyramid, crowded at the top with people of station occupying positions of power and influence with no support for society at the bottom because the basic activities of life have all been abandoned in the ascent of the equally strong.

Here we touch the root of class privilege and social inequality; an undue worship of strength and the giving of undue power to the strong. This became so obvious in the old world that the people had to take certain kinds of power from the strong; they did not let them exercise to the full their military power for example. And what the world is now minded to do is to remove the unequal control of economic power. It used to be considered the right and correct thing for the strongest to take what he could and keep what he had taken by the exercise of his strength. This process was restrained gradually, but it still is proper for a strong man to carve his way to economic power, to get as much capital as possible, and a good deal of our legal procedure gives him the right to keep what he has thus obtained. But the world is now beginning to restrain the acquisition of economic power. This is the central struggle of the modern democratic movement—the struggle for the control of the means of life, of the resources of the earth and of labor power.

This issue is not to be settled by any magic formula of the equal right to vote at certain times of the year. The free peoples are after more than the extension of political democracy to the subject peoples and the reform of their own political procedure. One of the greatest conflicts of history is now on; the climax of a long series of struggles for the diffusion of power. The common people are determined to secure the abolition of class privilege, and to get equality of oppor-

tunity, for development, by putting economic power, as political power has been put, into the hands of all the people through democratic processes.

When our political democracy was established, economic power was not recognized as a factor in government and in society as it has since been recognized; indeed it did not exist to the same extent, for the simple reason that there was no such aggregation of wealth as now obtains in this country. There was, on the contrary, a very general distribution of a somewhat moderate income. There was not in existence the enormous amount of economic power that has come with the development of machinery and with the increase of capital. Consequently our political democracy was worked out without due recognition of the relation of economic power to government.

There is to-day a twofold recognition of economic power and its place in society and the state; on the one hand by the political scientists and political philosophers, and on the other hand by the working people, who are now finding out what more they must do in order to achieve that which our government in its beginnings guaranteed to them.

The struggle for the democratization of economic power has not yet taken its full form, but certain of its aspects are already rather clearly defined. Economic power is of two kinds, labor and capital; and the struggle is for the democratic control of both these factors. Shall the force of labor be controlled by the workers or by the capitalists, or shall it be controlled by the democratic process in which they both participate? Shall the capital and the credit upon which the very life of the people depends, be controlled by a minority or by the majority? Already measures are being worked out in three ways: the attempt to secure a democratic control of the distribution of income; the attempt to secure a democratic control of the process of industry and agriculture, of the work-

shop, the farm and the market; the attempt to secure a democratic control of the natural resources from which wealth is developed by labor.

Because the common people have come to see the fact that the degree of income determines very largely the degree of social development, they have come forward time and time again with their demand for an increased wage. Also a large part of our social science is directed toward the abolition of poverty in order to secure greater equality of living. Both social workers and scientists see clearly that this is only part of the issue. The question of the amount of income for the wage earners depends absolutely upon the question of the control of the working processes and of the resources upon which those processes depend. Upon this depends the amount and nature of their productivity. The economic fact is also a spiritual fact. It involves the question of whether one group of people shall be able to control the means of life for others and thereby shall be able to control the life of others. It is the old question of slavery in a new form. Its clearest manifestation is in the question of who is going to control the jobs. A large part of the army of labor goes to its work as a conscript army, unwilling and sullen, because it has no choice in the matter. It must go or starve, and then the wills and minds of others control the manner in which the work shall be done. The next application, therefore, of the democratic process to economic power, is the attempt to get equal representation in the control of work. That is attempted at the present time in the western countries through representative methods copying those of political democracy in what is called "collective bargaining" through representatives of capital and labor with delegated powers. But just as political democracy has not succeeded altogether in making the representative method work satisfactorily, neither has labor organization; and there are now pending certain changes in industrial management

which will carry democracy in the control of industry into another form than that of joint representation. At the same time that the world is thus moving forward, a substantial body of American employers, the rear guard of the old order in the industrial world, is vigorously opposing the giving to labor of any share in the determination of the conditions of industry. The country which prides itself on being the great example and exponent of democracy is in its industrial life the most autocratic of all the great industrial nations.

It is quite evident that one of the severest struggles in the development of democracy will occur in the endeavor to secure a wider control of the economic resources upon which the national as well as the individual well-being depends. That struggle has already begun over both the sources of economic power—the working capacity of mankind and the natural resources of the earth out of which the common energy produces subsistence and all the comforts and luxuries of civilization. If any group of men can control these natural resources to a certain degree, if in addition they can control any large proportion of the capital and credit which is necessary for the carrying on of industry, labor is practically deprived of its economic power and its economic opportunity. It must either obey the group which has the control of the things upon which the very life of the working people depends, or it must accomplish a change in the situation.

The masters of economic power in our modern civilization have really a greater dominion over men than was achieved by the emperors of old. By their decisions concerning the prices of products, the wages, and indeed the whole terms and course of industry, they are not only able to take toll and tribute from the productive labor of a nation or of several nations, but they can indirectly determine the course of life and the opportunities of life for unnumbered people. The extent to which that has happened is pointed out by Professor W. I.

King, in his book "The Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States." He points out that while on the one hand we have been getting a much wider distribution of income, on the other hand, we have also been getting a much greater concentration of wealth ownership. He says many people will argue that all is well with democracy because of the wider distribution of income. On the contrary, he affirms, for the wide distribution of income does not represent a corresponding distribution of power, but a concentration of power, both economic and political. The historic results of any such inequalities are open for the world to read, most particularly in the case of the Roman Empire. There are obviously but two possible outcomes to a gross inequality in the ownership of wealth and the control of power; either the decadence of the nation in which it exists, from luxury and autocracy at one end and poverty and slavery at the other, or revolt on the part of the people to change the condition and remove the causes that brought it about.

It is quite easy to see what effect the concentrated control of economic resources has upon educational opportunity. It is quite obvious that the educational opportunity for any section of the population decreases with its removal from ownership in the economic resources of the country and from a share in their control. In the earlier stages of this country's development the people who lived on the land were owners, and therefore had direct control of a certain amount of economic power. Most of them were able to give more of the available educational opportunity to their children than is possible for either the tenant farmer or the industrial wage earner to-day. As the grip of these latter classes upon the economic resources becomes slighter and looser, so does the educational opportunity that is available to them decrease. That degree of equality of control of the land which existed in this country in the early period of its history, brought about a pretty gen-

eral average of income for the large agricultural population. There were no such gross disparities as now obtain. Neither was there any such inequality of educational development as now obtains where tenant farming is the rule. Nor has there since been any such contribution to national leadership in vigor and variety from the population on the soil as came in the days of somewhat equal control of the land.

It would appear then that a rich and varied intellectual development in any community depends upon a certain general level of economic condition. However that may be, and within a generation or two the point will be determined by experiment, the obvious fact is that the nations have come again to a point where a redistribution of power is taking place. Again power passes from the few to the many. Political democracy may content those of us who have social and educational opportunity, but it is no longer adequate for those who are unable to get these opportunities and increasingly they know it. Increasingly also they are discovering the economic causes of their deprivation and the essential nature of the needed economic changes. Knowledge has been given the toilers by the partial democratization of education. It is a world-changing fact of the first order that for the first time in history the suffering masses are coming to understand the causes of their suffering. The tool of historic and scientific knowledge is now about to be used for the first time by the working classes. With it they will add to the present machinery of democracy, by some means or other, whatever is necessary to enable them to realize the same measure of development that now obtains among the people who sometimes call themselves their betters. Too much approach to the ideal of democracy has already been made by humanity at large, there has been too much democracy let loose in the earth, to make it possible to keep permanently undeveloped races or classes. The world is moving up to a greater degree of real

social equality, an equality in access to the means of development. The immediate step about to be taken is the democratizing of economic power. In this movement the world forces have yet to feel the impact of the accession of the American workers who are just awakening to economic understanding. They bring to the common cause of the people everywhere a passion for social equality which has been fed both by idealism and economic advantage, together with a spirit which has not been broken or softened by an inherited class system.

This new movement toward equality through the wider distribution of economic power has a very vital relation to the international situation. The political struggle which led to the world war was, in a very large degree, a contest between the great nations for the right to develop the backward regions of the earth and use the undeveloped peoples for profit. Is that process now to be accomplished by the joint control of the big nations under a gentlemen's agreement to observe certain rules and to share the proceeds? Is it now to be, as one group of British liberal thinkers proclaimed, equality of access to the cheap labor of the backward peoples? And for these backward peoples is it simply to be a change of masters, from one nation to a group of nations? Or is it to be the beginning of equality of development for these peoples many of whom have long been subject to alien control and so, through no primary fault or lack of their own, have remained undeveloped? Are they now to be considered entitled to equal social opportunities with those nations who have been somewhat arrogantly considering themselves as the trustees of civilization?

It is upon the answer to these questions, as well as to the question of equality of opportunity of development for what we call the lower classes, that the future peace of the world depends. The big nations may settle the conflict between themselves by arranging somewhat equal rights to the ex-

ploitation of the undeveloped economic resources of the earth, but the fundamental world issue will not be settled that way; it will be raised the next time by an amalgamation of the exploited classes or races. Therefore there is incumbent upon the joint forces of education and religion a very heavy task in this particular matter of the extension of equality of opportunity. These forces have a joint and common interest in the present situation, for the present aspiration and struggle of the so-called lower classes and undeveloped peoples toward a greater degree of development is largely the creation of our modern education and the missionary aspect of our religion. There is no use disguising, and nothing to be gained by blinking, the fact that both education and religion are forces of social unrest, properly and wisely so. They have been teaching higher standards of living, they have been teaching great ideals of democracy. Therefore they have created the desire for these standards and ideals among the peoples of the earth and the more they spread their doctrines, the more do the people want all the values of the democracy that education and religion constantly presuppose and proclaim. It is one of the tasks of education to proclaim the ideals and create the unrest that will, by proper methods, remove injustice and inequality. It must be remembered that in both the Jewish and the Christian teaching of religion, there is what may be called a proletarian strain. That religion began in the emancipation of a group of slaves in Egypt and when it is truly taught to-day, in China or Japan, or in the United States, it fosters something of the same aspirations and ideals that led the Hebrew people to revolt against Pharaoh, the prophets to thunder against the tyranny and exploitation of the ruling classes of Israel, and Jesus and James to declare judgment upon the oppressors of the poor. It causes subject peoples and classes to long for liberty and for a greater development in life. It teaches universality of rights and priv-

ileges. It never defends or condones injustice; it is not content with an ideal of life that is limited to a few people, but ever the privileges of life, its benefits and ideals, are proclaimed as the common right of all. It proclaims the pulling down of the mighty from their seat; it declares that the meek shall inherit the earth.

It is disgracefully true that the organizations that have embodied the teachings of the Jewish and Christian scriptures have at times taught contentment with injustice and inequality, have urged the people to endure their lot in submission, have at times allied themselves with the forces of repression. But the spirit and ideal of their faith has ever broken through the forms that confined and distorted it. A religion which proclaims equality of spiritual rights, as do the Jewish and Christian faiths, which proclaims that all men are equal before God, inevitably stimulates the desire for equality of political and education opportunity, inevitably urges all the people to seek after the social and economic privileges which have ever been confined to the few. Under the inspiration and the teaching of such a religion, not a few people have moved up very appreciably in the scale of human life. If this religion is now true to its central principles, it will not be content with inspiring a certain number of people to reach the higher ranges of life, it will not be satisfied with having, directly and indirectly, provided the means of development and education for certain neglected sections of mankind. What gains it has been able to secure for some people through its own institutions of education and through its inspiration of the state to provide much wider means of education, it will now unceasingly demand for all the people; it will also urge the removal of those economic inequalities which now prevent the extension of the means of educational development to the people at the bottom of our industrial society.

It is quite evident that in the regions where political de-

mocracy is worshiped there is much need of a vigorous and plain teaching of equality of cultural opportunity and economic power. What place is there in a democracy for the divine right of plutocrats and captains of industry any more than for the divine right of kings and priests? What place is there also for the divine right of professors and preachers? There can be no special privilege and no special power in a true democracy, not even in educational and religious service; they must be open on equal terms to all the people. The tendency of a democracy which glorifies education, without much understanding of the nature and implications of either democracy or education, is to revert to the principle of the aristocracy of intellect. This was the peril which the great Greek philosophers bequeathed to the Western world in their supremacy of the men of reason. That teaching is still exercising a dangerous effect upon our educational and political life as it justifies and sanctifies special privilege and power in a democratic state to a limited educated minority. The Greeks were right that reason rules and should rule. Only so can democracy be safe. But democracy is destroyed in the inevitable control of reason, if the development of reason be confined to a section of the population. The only safety for democracy is to enable all the people to share in the control of reason, to develop and train all of them so that it will not be a few exceptionally wise people who are controlling but it will be the common reason of the common people, trained to exercise itself in sound intellectual and moral judgments. The great Greeks could not see the possibility of any such intellectual democracy and so the necessity of the control of reason in human life became the buttress of an aristocratic state and social system. To-day the means for the development of a genuinely democratic society are at hand.

The gospel of democracy to which the Western peoples have already given consent, clearly involves the universal de-

velopment of the people up to a certain point, to be achieved through the joint control of economic power. In order that this gospel of democracy shall reach its completion and shall not be checked by the weight of a mere sentimental applause, there will have to be added to the teaching of its principles a passion for their application in life. Only so can they grow. The test of the democratic character of education and religion is first of all the willingness to share them on equal terms with all the rest of the people, but it is more than that. It is a willingness to help others to get their benefits. This kind of democracy also involves teaching the people to give equal rights as well as to seek them, and that is a much harder matter. The desire for special privilege is naturally ingrained; if we know some one in office who can give us a seat of advantage to watch the parade, while our friends must stand, we are going to ask for it, are we not? The degree of willingness to give equal rights to others is the final test of democracy. There is a twofold duty now for the intellectuals of the middle class. One of their obligations is to yield special privilege, to seek the way to share it with others until it becomes a universal privilege. If they do not do this, they can count upon having their privilege taken from them in due time. Their other obligation is to teach the working class now coming to preponderant control in society to seek not power but equality for their children and for all others. If the people now coming up from below are seeking only to get their hands on economic power, because they now see that this is the means to equality of cultural opportunity, they will in the end be betrayed by the instinct for dominance and give the world but another form of inequality. If, however, their dominant desire is to permanently distribute equality of opportunity for development throughout the community and the world-family, they will become the pioneers of a state of democracy which the world has not yet known.

To diffuse economic power throughout a community is not sufficient. It is only a part of the next step toward equality. It simply clears the road for social development. There remains to be developed the discipline of education and the spirit of good will which will make effective this diffusion of power in general standards of living. There remains also to be achieved the general understanding of life as a process of unceasing development. If education and religion can interpret life to the people so that they will seek their mutual development instead of mastery over each other, then they will move forward on the endless path toward the ideal of equality.

CHAPTER III

UNIVERSAL SERVICE

The development of democracy raises the question of unity, the question of how the democratic community is going to stay together. Is the democratic community nothing but a large number of free and equal individuals who have achieved their liberty and gained a measure of equality, all seeking their own rights by their own power, all endeavoring in their own way to work out their development? Is the democratic world only a group of nations created by the principle of self-determination and then turned loose to grow in their own way, to seek their own destiny, to work out their own desires? What kind of a world is going to result in either case? Will these multitudes of individuals within the nation or these groups of nations seek to go their separate ways independently and apart? And as they go their separate ways will they find their interests conflicting, their desires crossing, and will they be drawn into friction, jealousy and antagonism? Or will they necessarily be drawn, both by the destructive effect of the conflict of their self-interests and their inherent desire for fellowship into a much closer association than is implied in the principle of freedom or self-determination?

The question then is whether a democratic community or a democratic world can be achieved by the principles of liberty and equality alone. This involves the question of whether it is possible to secure the full content of either of these ideals apart from the development of another principle in which they are both involved. Can final freedom or the largest possible measure of equality be realized for individuals in a

democracy whose major emphasis is upon liberty? Will the principle of self-determination really give to the smaller nations and the backward peoples that freedom and equality for which they follow it? The fact that limitations are imposed upon the principle of self-determination in the course of its own operation, is evident by the conflict that continually obtains in a democratic community where democracy is still expressed in terms of individualism. All the warfare between individuals and groups in the field of industry and finance that characterized the early period of the commercial development of this country is typically illustrative of the inadequacy of the principle of self-determination to bind together the life of a community. Then, as political democracy develops, we find that it is no freer from the conflict of classes than in those nations where the democratic principle is not so acclaimed or applied. In the United States, at this time, and in some of the South American republics, the conflict between classes becomes increasingly acute and is apparently on the way to reach the same stage of severity that it has attained in the older monarchical countries of Europe. The inadequacy of self-determination to make a cohesive world is illustrated again in the antagonisms which are developing between the nations now concerned in adjusting the present world situation. Each plans for its own economic development, they at once find that their interests conflict and dissension begins between the allies, which is bound to become more acute in the future unless the leaders of the nations perceive that something more is needed than a mutual guarantee of self-development, which means for the great powers economic expansion.

Is it not clear then that democracy is not simply a matter of individual freedom or equality of opportunity, or mutual attempts to guarantee these rights, but is also a matter of inter-dependent development? Is it not a fact that the degree

to which any of us or all of us can secure our recognized rights depends as much upon coöperation as upon our own initiative? The Western peoples have taken to liberty quite eagerly; they are going to take to equality a little more soberly; but fraternity is still considered a beautiful sentiment, a very delightful ideal with which to beguile idle moments, but dismissed from the world of daily affairs as impractical. Are we now to discover that it is one of the vital forces of democracy, which must find practical expression in organization if freedom is to remain and equality is to be advanced?

Democracy is now faced with the necessity of making up its mind as to what is the cohesive force of society; what is able to hold and to bind people together either into a local community, into a federation of states or a community of nations? If humanity is now going to build a new house to live in, it is a vital question as to what kind of cement will hold the structure together; if there is to be a new organism now taking form in the earth, what is the dynamic power that shall vitalize it and make its separate members parts of one body? The task before humanity, if it would really make a world democracy, is to discover and develop the laws of human association. Here is the great field of investigation for the future. The great unchartered region for scientific discovery is the realm of human living. We have really only begun to gather together the knowledge gained by the past life of mankind as to the laws and principles by which our associated life has been developed and by which it can be carried forward. The science of society is still in its infancy and its central task is to clearly outline and analyze the fundamental principles of human association that they may then be applied to the increasing activities of mankind. This is the great adventure of to-morrow.

Very definite answers have been offered in the past to these questions concerning the nature of the force that binds society

together. These answers need now to be examined in the light of our increasing knowledge of the course and manner of human progress. Autocracy is very positive in its reply. It has no doubt whatever upon the matter, and if doubt arises in the minds of the people concerning its answer, then autocracy promptly applies its principle and calls into play "the drumming guns that have no doubts." For autocracy insists on the efficacy of coercion and declares that physical force and the fear of it is, in the last analysis, the compelling power of human association. It believes that no government can maintain itself, and no society can be held together, unless there is a ruling class to possess and constantly use the means of compulsion. Autocracy is therefore the organized and transmitted power of the strong man, the man who was able to master his fellows, to begin with because he had the stronger right arm and the greater skill in using the weapon. That man finally made empires and entailed them to his descendants and their satellites to rule. The strong man is the foundation and the philosophical justification of all ruling classes; the warrior for the ruling classes of Europe, the pioneer captain of industry and finance for the ruling classes of an industrial civilization. Along with his power, the strong man transmits to the ruling class which falls heir to it the method of coercion by which he attained it, sanctified by its success. They therefore receive it with a justified faith in its potency, which becomes finally a genuine faith in its divine origin and its necessity and virtue for society. When their power is challenged, they maintain themselves and insist that they are maintaining the social structure, by the use of machine guns and jails. So intrenched is this belief in the validity of coercion by physical means that even the church, professing the rule of love, has in times passed practiced compulsion and sought to quell dissent by the rack, the thumb screw and the stake, and endeavored to extend its faith by force of arms.

It is true that the principle of coercion as the cohesive force of society has been discredited very considerably in national affairs by the progress of democracy and its use very considerably limited. Yet how many people to-day are talking of anything but physical repression for social and political dissent? Whenever people indicate their belief in the necessity for a "strong government," they are reviving this ancient principle of coercion which democracy abandoned in its formation. With the extension of intelligence and its gradual dominance over brute force in the determination of human affairs, the principle of coercion takes another form. It becomes the coercion of intellectual and moral judgment by the ruling class and lately by the administration, through the control and influence of the agencies of education and publication. This coercion of the mind and conscience of democracy, through the distortion and suppression of news, is used to subvert democracy into the use of the autocratic means of physical coercion to carry out the policy of the administration or to suppress those who would break the power of the ruling class. Democracy must free its public opinion or perish. The primitive fear aroused by the world war and the desire of administrations to vindicate their policies and maintain themselves in power carried the democratic countries back to the use of the princple of coercion for which they formerly overthrew autocracy. This was carried far beyond the necessity of rational self-preservation, into such repression of minority expression as endangers national health. The poison thus engendered in the body politic is now robbing this nation of sanity. It is attempting to meet a situation which calls for more democracy with a denial of democracy and a reliance upon the root principle of autocracy—coercion by physical means.

But while the principle of coercion has been somewhat discredited in national affairs, it still characterizes international

relationships, and that is one of the fundamental reasons that the world is now in its present misery. The old order of diplomacy before the war was an order which rested everything in the discussion upon the possession of superior force. This was the last word. Apparently that type of mind has not been changed by the world agony. Recently the Minister of War for Great Britain said in the House of Commons that, after all, the best pressure for peace was a powerful army. This is either an example of the automatic reflexes of the somnolent bureaucratic mind or it is a clear declaration of the intent of the ruling class of a democratic nation, controlling its foreign policy for their particular profit, to maintain the principle of autocracy in international relations.

If it be true that physical coercion is the cohesive force in international relations, if in that realm of life we cannot trust the appeal to reason or to justice, then we shall continue to have an armed world and all the misery that it means. Then democracy will be deceived and destroyed by the same intellectual and moral fallacy that deceived and destroyed the Prussian state. Democratic diplomacy, just like that of the autocracies, has too often used the final argument of the possession of superior force. The final appeal to democracy for great armies and great navies is that they are not intended for use, but simply to be kept in the background as an evidence to the other nations that we can back up what we say, if necessity requires. This means that democratic diplomacy is to triumph, not because it is reasonable or right, but because it possesses the means of coercion, because it can put the fear of its might into other peoples when it cannot convince them of its justice. This is a complete acceptance of the autocratic principle that society is to be held together by coercion. Does the case stand any different with a League of Nations, which relies solely or mainly upon the combined force of its more powerful members?

If the world is to have an international democracy, it is necessary at once to remove the principle of physical coercion from international relations at least to the degree that we have partially removed it from our national relations. Indeed it may be possible and necessary to secure the next limitation of coercion within the nation by an advanced step in that direction in international affairs, for while political democracy weakened the reliance upon physical force in governmental affairs, the principle has been revived and given a new lease of life by our industrial development. The gospel of absolutism and the principle of coercion is still preached and practiced as the only possible means of securing unity in our industrial life. It usually begins at the top of society and promptly spreads at the bottom. Too many people in the property-owning class continually blurt out that the way to deal with strikes is to break a few heads or call out the troops. That is the increasing tendency; the statement was common in the more developed industrial regions of the East even before the war. The West prefers vigilance committees, deportations, and an occasional hanging or shooting. After a time bombs come from anarchist circles and increasingly sober men in labor and radical circles discuss whether violence is not the only way out. Finally both sides are more willing to trust the arbitrament of physical force than the rule of reason. This is the natural result in due process of time, of an unrestrained and glorified competitive system of economic production and distribution because the competitive system justifies the right of the strong, asserts and guarantees it by custom and law, and then enforces it.

When democracy challenged the principle of coercion and proclaimed in its place the rule of reason, it first defined and applied the rule of reason in terms of an absolute individualism. It saw of course that there would be selfishness and antagonism, but believed that there was enough reason in humanity

so that in the end these antagonisms would adjust themselves for the general good, the conflicting selfishnesses would more or less modify each other and finally work out for the common weal; gradually there would come about the dominance of the rule of reason for the welfare of all. This principle of an enlightened selfishness, consciously as well as unconsciously mutually checking its several excesses, was trusted in the industrial as in the political world; just as in the field of diplomacy it was also believed that the balance of power would be sufficient to keep the peace in international affairs. Gradually there came about more and more regulation of conflicting selfishness by legislation and more and more mutual agreements between competing capitalist groups and then between capital and labor. But with all this modification, there is still the appeal to force in the economic situation. It is not so much now the appeal to physical force, despite present hysterics. It tends increasingly to take to another field as in the political world it becomes the use of the printing press rather than the use of armies. The trade agreement between organizations of employers and employed is an appeal to reason instead of proceeding by strike or lockout to fight the issue through sheer force, economic and physical. But in that trade agreement there is still reliance upon the superior economic force which either group can exert. In the outcome neither group is liable to get very much beyond what the balance of economic forces affords. Each group will at the end of the conference usually stand just about at the point to which it has sufficient economic strength to carry itself. If the employers can get other workers they will not yield beyond a certain point. If the men can sufficiently control the labor supply they can carry their demands further. So the appeal to reason has in this case really transferred the principle of force from the physical to the economic field, or, to speak more accurately, our use of the method of reason in the settlement

of industrial controversy tends to eliminate the element of naked physical force and to settle the issue by economic power alone so that the casualties are neither so numerous or noticeable. Still more of a gain lies in the fact that through publicity and the consequent pressure of public opinion, other considerations tend to limit the use of economic power on both sides. The same thing is true of course when the organized groups of trade and finance confront the consumer. They can and usually do fix prices at the point of their economic power; it is mostly a case of "what the traffic will bear." While we appeal to reason constantly through our various commissions and boards, yet nevertheless a larger part of our economic life is still adjusted by the principle of coercion; prices, wages and conditions of industry, the distribution of product and the acquisition of capital are still mostly determined by the possession of superior power.

In one very important field, the administration of democracy has to a large extent abandoned the principle of coercion. That is in the field of justice and punishment. In the last ten years there has been a notable change in our dealings with delinquents and even criminals. There has been less reliance upon physical punishment, and more and more reliance upon the appeal to reason, the sense of justice and the desire for reformation and reconciliation. Physical force has been put into its proper place as a means of restraint for the defense of the community. Unfortunately we are now unable to carry over into international affairs the principles and methods proved to be valid in criminology and penology, because we must needs approach the great issue of justice and punishment between nations in the aftermath of a criminal world war. And of course one of the after-effects of war is a tendency to overestimate the place of physical force in community life. That is necessarily always more of a danger with the victor than with the vanquished. Especially is it a danger

if the victorious cause has been just. The very fact that a just cause has been able to make a successful use of physical force to defend itself against aggression is liable to lead its supporters into an overestimate of the place and value of coercion in a democracy. That is misleading France just now in adjusting her relationship to Germany in the future. It is misleading the property class in this country in its relation to labor.

It is time for democracy to ask whether the rule of reason has worked out better than coercion in the development of a state. Has the democratic state achieved a greater degree of harmony than has been secured by autocratic rule? It is true that there is still the growing bitterness of the class struggle throughout the democratic states; it is true that they still have "economic serfdom" and inequality of circumstance and opportunity; it is true that not yet have the democratic peoples found a common aim and purpose, nor has any democratic nation yet found a common goal for its living; but when all these qualifications are granted, it is also undoubtedly true that there is a far greater degree of harmony, and finally a greater power of cohesion in the democratic than in the autocratic state. Such degree of unity as does exist is natural because chosen and not enforced, is therefore rooted in the unifying principle of freedom of choice and is bound to grow with the expression of that principle beneath all its surface differences. The philosophy of the autocratic state fails to perceive the essential nature of unity as embodied in democracy. One significant piece of evidence as to its validity is the way in which the democratic peoples withstood the shock of the war. The autocratic armies and states, founded on the principle of coercion and apparently more coherent to begin with, have gone to pieces; the democratic peoples have voluntarily held together. It appears then that the welding power of a common purpose voluntarily chosen or accepted, is greater

than a purpose superimposed and maintained by coercion. If this be true, then democracy can only find its way and grow into organic unity by trusting to the full the principle of freedom, by rejecting absolutely the method of physical coercion, by continually extending opportunities, for the open and untrammeled determination and execution of the chosen purposes of the people.

There is still another answer to the question of what is the cohesive force in human relations. It is not exhausted by the reply of autocracy or the present answer of democracy. If there were no principles available for social action but those which have so far been discussed, we might have reason for doubting the future of mankind because of their obvious limitations. If there were nothing else to depend upon but coercion or the rule of reason, or both judiciously mixed, we might perhaps conclude that there was no future for humanity but the rule of class and that the successive struggles of democracy would simply replace one class with another. But there is a principle which has been taught by religion and philosophy as the dominant and fundamental principle of human association. It has variously been called love, fraternity, good will. It is the distinctive teaching of Jesus, both in the emphasis which he placed on it and the degree to which he carried it. It is the core of his social ethics. It was the central and supreme obligation that he laid upon his followers. It was defined in his teaching in terms of coöperative service and was not simply upheld as an abstract principle or a fine sentiment. His followers were to be distinct from other peoples, not simply because they loved each other, but because they served each other and sought together the common welfare.

With that went another fundamental principle which will later be discussed—that they were to seek for something more in life than the increase of material goods. This

principle of fraternity and good will, defined and applied in terms of service, is the great working principle for democracy. The full development of freedom and the greatest degree of equality in opportunity of development are to be secured by mutual helpfulness. Democracy therefore is to be a coöperative undertaking. One of the distinctive features of Jesus' attitude to the future is that he is willing to trust his cause entirely to this principle. He will permit no coercion in his name, he will appeal to the franchise of humanity. Will we? Is democracy thus willing to commit itself to the good will and the reason of the peoples of the earth?

I do not intend even to hint for a moment that Jesus definitely taught the principle of mutual service as the bond of society in the scientific sense of the term. He taught it as the obligation for the fellowship of his followers and he saw that fellowship in the future filling the earth. To justify this faith is the fact that the desire to serve is undoubtedly deeply imbedded in the heart of the common people, and in so far as the fundamental instincts of humanity are uncorrupted by organized greed, it is found that the principle of fraternity expressed in mutual service is a dominant factor in human association. The common need of the people at the bottom of society makes for their solidarity and makes for the increase of the principle of fraternity. It comes out again and again in the familiar fact that what the poor do for each other is more than the rich do for them. It comes out in such a fact as this: that during the war many of the peasants of Russia, before they went to bed, would put out on the window sill of the cottage a candle and a piece of bread, in case some escaped German from the prison camp should be passing that way and need food.

This instinct of fraternity, this attempt at and desire for mutual service, has been developed into a consciously accepted principle of social organization and has been so taught

in several forms, all of them having more or less relation to the Christian religion, both historically and philosophically. It can be found in the social propaganda which insists that coöperation in social organization should replace competition. It can be found as democracy develops from a merely passive "live and let live" policy into an active mutual helpfulness, for the development of western democracy during the last generation has been in the direction of a constantly increasing constructive service on the part of the citizenship toward each other and toward the common life. It can be seen in the government departments dealing with education, health, recreation and labor; all are activities of a positive, coöperative democracy as against a negative, individualistic democracy. They attempt to promote the common life instead of merely preventing individuals from hindering its development. They constitute a movement in the direction of collectivism, which sees the necessity of ordering the common life of mankind in the direction of some common purpose and plan and makes fraternity the dominant principle. It uses coercion only to prevent the disruption of the fraternal community by those who would attack it for predatory purposes; but to restore offenders to the common life and to hold together and carry forward the common life, democracy increasingly trusts the principle of good will. The extreme form of the principle of good will worked out in a social scheme is the doctrine of the philosophic anarchists who are utterly distinct from the anarchists who believe in the use of physical force to accomplish a new social order. These philosophical anarchists are gentle idealists whose chief condemnation in a practical world is that they persist in thinking that other people are as good as they and are therefore under life sentence to bear the banner of a common ideal far ahead of the procession. They believe that society can be held together without restraint of any kind save in-

dividual good will, its respect for others' rights and aid for others' needs being in their judgment the surest of social bonds.

Unquestionably one of the great ideals of humanity, gathering force and power of expression and organization through many ages, in many peoples, is that the life of mankind in the community, the nation, and the world, should be held together in mutual service by the principle of good will. The question now, of supreme interest to a world in which a form of social organization based upon selfishness has broken down, is will this ideal work? Is it something impossible of achievement in a world where interests naturally conflict, a magnificent dream but always to remain unrealized? What is the relation of this ideal to the laws of social progress? No new social order is coming down from heaven, nor is it to be developed merely by fine feeling and enthusiasms for an ideal. There are certain definite and ascertainable laws of social development; the question that must be determined is whether the ideals that now claim the allegiance of the people are in harmony with the course of human progress hitherto. Or does the universe constantly defeat man? Do the universal spiritual longings of humanity simply mock and deceive and lead in the end to disillusionment, despair and destruction? This question is finally to be settled by the appeal to the facts and tendencies of social evolution; there is no going behind or beyond that court. To that tribunal the advocates of coercion have already carried their case. They have appealed to Cæsar and the idealists of democracy now welcome the opportunity to have the case settled before the supreme authority where the decision is irrevocable. Both the militarists and the industrial imperialists, all the forces of special privilege who desire to maintain themselves through the use of coercion and the possession of physical force, now proclaim the philosophy of social Darwinism.

That philosophy says briefly that force is the determining

factor in progress; that social progress comes by the development and use of superior force by certain individuals and groups; that competition is not only the law of trade, but the law of life, that the race goes to the swift, the battle to the strong, and the prizes and the spoils to the victor. The "survival of the fittest" is the catch-word of the hour of this school. It is an attempt to philosophically justify the rule of the strong, which is even declared to be for the benefit of the world because by the process of ruthless competition the weak are eliminated. However much such a doctrine may outrage our sentiments of compassion and benevolence, if it be a fact we have no escape from it. If this is the law of human progress there is nothing more to be said or done but to accept it.

This philosophy is a product of the domination of the concept of evolution in the thinking of the modern world. The word evolution has come to have an authority which is almost unchallenged; it has almost acquired the power to generate fear, become one of the ghost-words. In certain circles to say a thing is proved by evolution is to make an implied demand that it be accepted, whether or no, without any further verification or investigation of the facts of the evolutionary process. Thus do scientists as well as theologians, substitute dogma for truth and demand allegiance to their interpretations of things. The theory of social Darwinism was unquestionably made in Germany, but it has been distributed in almost every university of the Western world for the last generation, so that the scholars of Germany do not properly incur all the burden of facing its consequences and sustaining its truth. The theory begins in the realm of biology. It starts with a supposed interpretation of the Darwinian hypothesis concerning the origin of species: that species originate and change by a process of natural selection in the course of their reaction to their environment. By the originators of the theory of social Darwinism this process of natural selec-

tion was then interpreted and described simply as a process of struggle. Nature was described as an arena where all creatures fought with tooth and claw and the universe was painted red with blood; conflict was said to be the one universal and dominant factor. Only those survived who were the strongest fighters. This interpretation and description was then transferred to the field of human development and the progress of man was said to be the continuing result of the survival of the strongest in the everlasting struggle between the classes and the nations. Nietzsche aided in developing the theory, though not with the one-sidedness of some others of its protagonists and on the basis of it he attacked Christianity as perfect folly because through its teaching and application of compassion, it meant the saving of the unfit and their eventual dominance. This of course was a total misconception, because the final result of Christian compassion is not the survival of the unfit but the removal of the causes of unfitness, and therefore the elimination of the unfit by means beneficial to them as well as to society. It reaches therefore the status of health and strength for all society desired even by Nietzsche, by very much sounder and more beneficent processes than that of the extermination of the weak.

This theory of the survival of the fittest was then applied to politics and economics. In politics it meant the absolute dominance of the nation by the upper classes, those being the super-men who had proved their right to survive by fighting their way to the top. In the world at large it meant the dominance and supremacy of the strongest nations, which in like fashion had proved their right to leadership. And therefore, along with this theory came not only the philosophic justification of physical force, but the absolute glorification of it. It developed into the religion of the warrior caste using either arms or economic weapons, which of course was the religion of the Prussian state. There is another part

of the picture which was not painted by these enthusiasts for physical strength and combat. They left the lower part of their canvas empty. When it is filled in, it contains a world of subject peoples and subject classes, exploited, repressed, and inevitably rebellious. Consequently this theory of social progress presupposes and indeed requires a world of perpetual strife, a continued prize ring in which one champion ever succeeds another.

This theory is now being challenged not on grounds of sentiment, but on grounds of fact. The case is being argued in the court whither the social Darwinists have carried it. There has arisen a new school of biologists and sociologists who insist on carrying the argument to a conclusion by surveying and comparing all the facts of social progress. Their first challenge is that social Darwinism does not correctly interpret the process of evolution in the animal world. Darwin himself, before he died, denied absolutely that the shouters for the survival of the fittest were correctly interpreting his hypothesis or his evidence. In fact he said, before he died, as he saw what was being done with his work, "I must have been a very bad explainer." Later came the studies of Kropotkin in "Mutual Aid." From his observations of the animal world he concludes that struggle is a universal law of nature everywhere to be found in operation, but it is not the dominant fact or factor; and that to determine its proper place, and its value as analogy for human progress, its nature and its limits need to be defined. He points out that the struggle in nature is a struggle between individuals and not an organized conflict between species. Also it is mainly a conflict between individuals of different species for individual purposes, which is not proved to eliminate or even weaken any other species. There is no such thing in nature as the organized warfare of one nation against another nation, both of the same species. It was Fabre, the great insect investigator of France, who de-

clared that in the insect world there is no such predatory attack upon the acquired possessions of the same species as is made by man in his predatory wars for example, or in his economic exploitation. The main struggle in the animal world is for food and while this may lead to a conflict between individuals of the same species, yet usually when one animal suffers in the necessary struggle for food, he usually suffers at the hands of an animal of another species altogether.

Also the struggle for food in the animal world is not mainly a struggle between animals, but a struggle against nature; an endeavor to overcome the environment of nature in so far as it is hostile. This is a mutual necessity, in the course of which it is pointed out, coöperation develops as well as struggle. First the sexes coöperate, and then organized bands of animals, in providing food for the young and in the care for the weak. In that mutual interest of overcoming nature, organized cooperation increasingly develops and the individual who finally has the best chance to survive is not necessarily the best fighter, but the one who is protected by the most coöperative group. In the same way the surviving species is that which is able to develop the greatest degree of coöperation in the attack on nature.

Therefore it is concluded that the dominant factor in the animal world is mutual aid, that it is the law of progress, and that the development of society is the increase of the capacity for coöperation. So it is only a part of the truth to say that self-preservation is the first law of nature. Service and sacrifice also are primal instincts of humanity, with an ancient lineage in the animal world. It is instinctive for the mother in the animal world as in the human species, to protect and defend her young, just as it is for her to get food for herself; and in the case of the conflict between these two instincts, the mother will lose her own life in order that her young may be saved and the species perpetuated. The individual has an

instinct for perpetuation not only for self but also for the species.

This instinct for the preservation of the species has been subdued and overlaid in human society in the struggle for the acquisition of goods and power. The possessive and mastery instincts have been unduly developed in civilization at the expense of the instinct to serve and sacrifice. Yet time and time again the class differences and the class selfishnesses that develop in the struggle of the human race for private possessions and special power and privilege will disappear in some great emergency of human need. The instinct for service and sacrifice will then leap to the front. A man suddenly seeing a child in danger, without a second's thought risks his life to save the child. There appears the instinct for mutual aid, for the preservation of the species as against the preservation of the individual, developed and reinforced by a social code. After the San Francisco earthquake and fire, the people had to go out and camp in the parks and share discomfort together, and everyone commented on the marked degree of brotherhood that was present. The differences of class were suddenly eliminated. They were simply human beings whose primary need was food and shelter, and so, as in the days of the early social group, they helped each other to attain these elemental necessities. In the sinking of the Titanic, it was "women and children first," an ancient law of the sea for Anglo-Saxons. In it the instinct for the preservation of the species, not of the individual, has been disciplined into a code and custom of conduct. It was not simply a display of the deliberate bravery of men; that bravery is in part a creation of the powerful instinct for the perpetuation of the species.

The social Darwinians are next challenged as to their statement of the facts of the development of human society. The preliminary work in this field was done by Henry Drummond, the latest and best statement of the case for the English-speak-

ing world by Nasmyth: "Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory." This is an exposition and enlargement of the work of Novikov, a Russian sociologist. It is significant that so much of the work in this field has come from Russian sources. Witness the world-wide influence of Tolstoy in extending the gospel of fraternal living. It is probably because the Russian habit of life has been coöperative and even communistic. In their agricultural methods they have retained their instinct for service and sacrifice longer than the more individualistic nations and have widely organized it into coöperative societies.

Darwin's early exponents, particularly Huxley and Wallace, agreed that the law of progress in the animal world was the survival of the fittest. But when they came to the human world they were puzzled to find a different principle obtaining. They said, does it mean that we have a different kind of evolution in the human than in the animal world? Finally, in order to account for the difference, they said that there must be a new ethical factor that comes in with the development of man which makes for a different process of evolution. But Darwin himself was more consistent. He found mutual aid the chief factor in the struggle of the animal world against nature and he found this same factor developing in the human race into intelligent coöperation, as the fight to overcome the physical universe became very much more coöperative than in the animal world. He found, for example, that the minute man began to organize his economic life and to secure food from nature in organized fashion, there began a process of ever-increasing coöperation. It reaches from the day when the first family began to work together to get a stock of food for the winter, until the present time when we organize our production and distribution for a world market. He found the same fact in the domain of thought, that as the human mind became increasingly able to attack the problem of nature, it developed a coöperative process in which knowledge

was shared and organization became increasingly coöperative, until modern science is a coöperative commonwealth of mental endeavor. As human life expanded, it was found that the strife between individual human beings, then between tribes and clans and finally between nations became increasingly limited by the necessity for coöperative activity. As the progress of organized coöperation increased, the principle of strife and struggle became correspondingly weaker and less important in human affairs.

Darwin found the spiritual law in the natural world. It is, as Henry Drummond pointed out in his exposition of "The Greatest Thing in the World," that as humanity progresses, the principle of unselfish service takes the prior place and selfishness takes the second place. Struggle and fight are still there, but struggle and fight, instead of being the chief factors, become the secondary and incidental things in the law of progress; the dominant factor in the advance of human activity becomes organized coöperation, just as mutual aid is the dominant factor in the evolution of the animal world. Also the principle of struggle takes a different form. As society develops in coöperative life, the struggle of man becomes increasingly a bloodless and even a helpful struggle. It becomes the struggle of ideas. A group of scientists is working on the same problem in the spirit of competition. But it is a spirit of friendly rivalry in mutual service to the common good. The one who wins and makes the discovery confers as much benefit upon the others as upon himself. Whoever wins, humanity is the chief gainer, while the exact opposite is true concerning the struggle of war.

It is thus in the upward climb of the race that the fact and principle of struggle increasingly passes over from the field of mutual destruction into the field of mutual helpfulness and in this process physical force becomes secondary and finally unnecessary. Increasingly intelligence and morals count more

and more in the determination of progress, and instead of coercion, reason and good will come to dominate community life. It is out of the struggle against nature, not from war between men and nations, that intelligence and morals are developed to strengthen human association and to aid progress. Out of the family affection which has developed through the joint acceptance and performance of the economic tasks of the family there gradually comes the "dear love of comrades" that enables and ennobles the wider associations of man. Out of the necessary mutual obligations of the common coöperative tasks there develops the moral sense. Out of the moral sense comes the moral law, the code of the family and the state, and finally the power of self-government. Mutual aid, organized into effective forms of conscious coöperation, becomes the most important factor in social evolution and finally determines the survival of groups and of nations. The simplest statement of this law of social progress is the principle of reciprocity which was taught in the Sermon on the Mount. "Love others as you love yourself." Darwin well calls this the social law of gravitation, for it expresses the essential power which holds society together and makes human progress possible. Increasingly applied in the organized activities of human life, this principle constantly checks, and finally controls in the service of the common good, the spirit of selfishness which if left alone would destroy humanity. Thus do biology and social science in their unfolding of the course of animal and human development, support the judgment of ethics and the faith of religion that the highest expression and realization of life is to be found in coöperative service.

It is then apparent that the further progress of humanity and particularly the immediate development of western democracy is to be achieved through the spread of conscious cooperation, which is the organized form of the instinct for

mutual aid. Coöperation disciplines this instinct of mutual aid and applies it consciously to chosen social ends. It replaces warfare between men with a common struggle against environment and social ills; it harnesses the competitive spirit to the common load and promotes emulation in service, and thus subordinates the quality of self-seeking to the advancement of the common interest.

In the modern state and particularly in the modern economic organization, there has been a great exaltation of the principle of self-interest. One of the greatest faults of democracy has been that its emphasis upon individual freedom has in many respects been an emphasis upon individual selfishness. At least autocracy in its modern form can claim this merit, that it did discipline self-seeking individuals and groups in the interest of the autocratic overhead state. It has been the weakness of democracy that so often it has let individual selfishness go its own way and even organize itself into class self-seeking. That is largely because democracy has been misled by an inadequate science and an imperfect philosophy. Its doctrine for the state has been nationalism—unrestrained and unhindered, with its underlying philosophy of the absolute sovereignty of the individual, self-sufficient state. Its philosophy in economics as in politics has been the Laissez-faire philosophy—let things alone, do not interfere with individual or group activity any more than is necessary to keep the public peace. The best government, we were told for a generation, was that which did the least and interfered the least with its citizens. Somehow we were told unlimited economic self-seeking would work out for the common good; it would tend mutually to modify its excesses and finally would result in a balance of economic power for the common welfare.

As a matter of fact the only thing that saved the democratic organization from being absolutely anarchic as the result of

this letting loose of individual selfishness was the fact that it became to the interest of various groups to subdue their individual selfishness in relation to each other and to organize it into an effective group selfishness in relation to the rest of society. When it became evident to the big men in certain lines of business that absolute, unrestrained individual competition meant the ruin of many and uncertainty for all, they organized their combinations and sometimes their monopoly control. They limited individual selfishness against each other but they made it very much more powerful and effective against the community. The same thing has been done in certain forms of labor organization. If it were not for the organization of self-interest into group and class forms, the principle of unrestrained selfishness would have worked more disintegration than it has in the modern industrial society, because it is manifestly the separating force in human relations. But while it has thus afforded automatically some relief from the disorders and disruption of an anarchic competitive struggle, as its defenders foresaw, nevertheless the principle of self-seeking is continually dividing the community into conflicting class interests and conflicting group interests within the classes. It is now making for society a universal class warfare, unless it can be replaced by the principle of coöperative service.

Fortunately the process of coöperation becomes increasingly extended and complex in other realms of human endeavor. In the field of intellectual discovery it has long become evident that the best results are to be attained by combination and coöperation. When any branch of science becomes a coöperative endeavor on the part of its devotees in all countries, it contributes very much more to human welfare than when it is the lonely task of isolated investigators. The ever-increasing co-operative nature of the common intellectual life is constantly affecting the realm of economic activity.

Gradually the world finds out that the wider its coöperation becomes the greater is both its economic production and the development of its higher life, each being dependent upon the other.

The development of humanity in modern times has been through an increase of coöperative action; in the family until it has resulted in the democratic participation of the children in family affairs; in education until it has resulted in measures of self-government in educational institutions; in the state, until government, instead of becoming an overhead matter to levy taxes, maintain order and protect against external enemies, has gradually become a coöperative activity for mutual welfare, looking after the health, education, recreation, and industrial conditions of the people. In the economic organization it has been discovered that competition is not the life of trade but the weakening of it by a constant waste of energies and resources, and if it be unrestrained, finally the death of it.

In the economic function of distribution, the general method, and indeed the ideal, has been a free-for-all fight, until combination was necessary to prevent the mutual destruction of individual distributors. A certain trade organization now endeavors, as one of its objects, to prevent any individual member from being wiped out of business by inefficient methods. Half a generation ago, the average business man of that trade would have exulted to have a competitor wiped out. But the new associations of business men recognize that this is a mutual risk and a common loss to the entire trade. So they see to it that the less able men in that trade are educated to the point of economic efficiency, they endeavor to maintain certain standards for the trade. The same thing is true to a still greater degree concerning certain organizations of producers, particularly in agriculture.

But none of these associations yet take into account the

vital interests of the consumer; there still remains almost unrestrained competition between producer and distributor and between both of them and the consumer. Where conflicting interests get together in a measure of coöperation, as capital and labor sometimes do, it is often a mutual hold-up of the consumer. When it comes to the relationships of buyer and seller, the transaction usually takes place on the basis of war: "let the buyer beware" is the maxim. This voices the ancient oriental policy from the first days of merchandising. "If the buyer gets stung," our vernacular says, "it's up to him and nobody else—he should keep his eyes open." But the warfare of trade begins to be modified. The big stores now give your money back if you are not satisfied. This maxim also becomes the watch word of wholesale selling, and manufacturers are beginning to take the same attitude.

Evidently even the business world is raising and facing the question of what is the place of competition in our organized life. What is the price that this great incentive to action is worth? How can we preserve the stimulative value of competition and eliminate its destructive consequences? It will be recognized that the most destructive consequences of a competitive organization of economic activity are not to-day found in competition between individuals. The casualties of competitive trade have been much reduced by prevailing methods of combination. There is not so large a percentage of business failures as resulted from the fierce competition of a generation ago. The destructive competition now troubling us is that between the classes. It is at the bottom a struggle for social advantage. Its continually recurrent symptoms are numerous conflicts for immediate financial benefits between capital and labor, and between organized producers and distributors. Its deeper aspects, which are not yet fully apparent nor clearly analyzed, are the warfare between producers and consumers, whose scars most men carry in their

own bodies, and the conflict between producers, consumers and financiers, whose marks not a few also bear in their own persons. So is the house of humanity divided against itself by our present economic arrangements.

The competitive struggle between buyer and seller, capitalist and wage earner, involves the desire of each to secure an advantage over the other. Therefore it involves the principle of injustice. Instead of being an attempt to exchange mutual services on something of an equal basis, the underlying desire is to make something additional to the value of the service exchanged. The naked law of barter, and consequently the naked law of a labor market carried on by the principle of barter, is to get as much and give as little as possible. The world of employment and investment considers the application of this principle by labor to be immoral but on its own part to be good business. So labor considers the application of the principle of taking what the market will afford to be, on the part of capital, merciless exploitation, but on its own part, justifiable self-defense. Neither side has sufficiently discovered that their difficulty roots in the common principle of action, but both are becoming aware that the naked law of barter, like the stark principle of competition, has proved unprofitable. One of the great department stores of the country has for years advertised "The only justification for Profits is Service." Therefore, instead of trying to get as much out of the consumer as possible, regardless of the service rendered, which of course is one way to make money quickly, but not continuously, the proposition now is to give the purchaser the best possible service in order that profits may in the long run be larger and more secure. It is the same ethical code that declares honesty to be the best policy. The principle of mutuality obtains only to the degree that it makes for more profit, and there are obvious limits in that direction. Some day we shall learn that the only justification for business is

service, which will be altogether another advance, requiring the annullment of the law of barter and not merely its amendment.

While the impetus and gains of our present economic arrangements in the direction of coöperative service need to be recognized and credited, the fact needs to be fully weighed that these gains occur on either side of the line that separates the main economic interests of society. As long as the economic life is carried on for private gain, producer and consumer, capitalist and wage earner, have in the last analysis an irreconcileable antagonism, no matter how much it may be modified by truce and laws of war. It is significant that the limiting of the competitive struggle so far has been more in the nature of class combinations for class interests than in the nature of common coöperation for the common interest. They involve the limiting of selfishness in the smaller field, but the strengthening and solidifying of it in the larger field. To carry the limitation of selfishness across the line of class interests is a more strenuous task than to carry it across the lines of conflicting individual interests. That the smaller undertaking has been in some measure accomplished affords ground of hope that the larger venture may some day be achieved; but not unless it is perceived and taught that to organize cooperative service throughout the entire economic life requires a complete abandonment of selfishness as a principle of economic action. Yet in no other way can the world be saved the disastrous effects of universal class warfare which is now rapidly developing. There is no prevention of that warfare except the abandonment of the present competition between the classes. The only way out is to make economic relationships a conscious mutual exchange of services for mutual benefit, not for the advantage of any class, but for the social welfare of all. Then men are bound together, instead of being separated, by their economic interest. The spirit of competi-

tion is not destroyed but transferred to another field. It becomes then a competition not for selfish advantage but a competition in the rendering of service.

If the principle of competition is to make for mutual benefit instead of mutual destruction, it must be directed towards a common end. It leads those who are struggling for their own selfish ends to weaken and destroy each other but it leads those who are striving together in service to a jointly chosen cause to an ever strengthening comradeship, as the fellowships of science and religion have proved. The real problem before the world in seeking to prevent war is to find some other expression for the competitive instinct than mutual destruction. If the warrior spirit can be applied to a common end, it will bind all humanity together in life and not alone in death, as now.

What is needed then is not to eliminate competition but to reverse its place in the present scheme of things. Humanity has been struggling up in its long process of development by subordinating selfishness and modifying self-interest. Further progress depends upon ability to put coöperation in the foreground and make it the chief factor in organized life, keeping competition as a stimulus to coöperation. So that the new social order will be as the British Labor Party says, a social order based not on fighting but on fraternity; not simply because fraternity is the highest concept of humanity, not simply because a coöperative fraternal life is the highest ideal of human living, but because the spirit and method of coöperation is the scientific law of human progress. The scientific man who has been sneering at the idealist, needs to take the measure of his ignorance and discover wherein he has not sufficiently known science. He was not aware that the principle of mutual aid, developed into the law of coöperative service, was the central law of animal and human association. The business man who has been laughing at the dream-

ers who were foolish enough to talk about the golden rule in economic activities, needs now to discover wherein his mirth was the product of a limited understanding of the world in which he lives. He has not known that his glorified selfishness was limiting his economic functions and destroying his economic efficiency. Neither the scientific man nor the business man who have been ruling the ideal of fraternity out of the world, has been aware of the fact which even the cynical Bismarck found out, that there are certain imponderables in the universe against which blood and iron are after all impotent. What are we now finding out is that these imponderables are also at the heart of scientific truth. The universe is with the idealist and not against him. At its heart is not the disintegrating force of selfishness, but the cohesive force of good will, constantly operating to unite and bind humanity together in a larger, truer life.

If a new order of human living is to begin, this force of good will needs now to be more consciously and efficiently organized in forms of universal service. Democracy has been of necessity emphasizing equal rights, for they have been, and are, denied and refused. But it is an axiom that equal rights involve equal obligations. A world in which individuals, and classes, and nations are simply struggling to obtain their own rights, is a world in which selfishness, with all its disintegrating and destructive consequences, is constantly stimulated. Equal rights and equal opportunities are only the first part of the charter of democracy. The completion of the charter is equal obligation and universal service. Here are the two corner stones for democracy, either within or between the nations; on the one hand equality of rights, on the other hand equality of obligation. The latter has been neglected to the point of danger until the democratic state is hard to put it both to keep its house together and to prevent the control of it falling into the hands of one class or another. The natural result of the

theory of states rights and absolute sovereignty in the political world is such a conflict as has recently waged between nations and now threatens between classes.

I once read that statement which has been called "the Social Creed of the Churches" to a gathering of colored preachers. The first section says, "equal rights for all men in all stations of life," and one of the colored men at once asked this question: "I would like to know if that applies between the black men and the white men or simply between the white men. Also does that mean equal rights to skin each other?" Unless along with it is put the principle of universal service, the demand of equal rights is likely to strengthen the process of mutual skinning. Because the war has magnified the demand for equal rights and set free a lot of new nations, it is necessary now to emphasize the principle of equal obligation and to find its proper expression in forms of universal service. The more freedom, the more points of conflict between individuals and classes and nations. If the ideal of democracy is limited to equality of right and opportunity, it contains within itself the seeds of its own death. The future course of democracy depends upon whether the people can now develop the will to serve and embody it throughout the whole of the social organism.

It is evident that there has been a great extension of the application of the service motive in the war experience of the nation. It was universally accepted that everybody should "do their bit" in some form or other and many people who never before had recognized any community obligation accepted for the duration of the war the validity of the obligation for universal service. In some states it became the law that you must either work or fight. Public speakers found a large part of their audiences engaged in the occupation of knitting. It is questionable how many of those people, now that the need of the war is over, will feel any obligation to knit

for the improperly clothed in their own community, but the principle of universal service having been accepted and established, we ought to be able to carry it in some measure into the ordinary activities of peace times. The result would be to extend the enlargement of life that came to many people in war work. A certain acquaintance of mine said, regarding some of the "dollar a year men" at Washington, "Some of my business friends whose main object in life formerly was business success and the making of money, have recently been serving their country and humanity for a dollar a year and I have been surprised to notice the change in their feelings. They have a sense of freedom and of joy that I had not observed before in their lives."

It was noticeable that the principle of universal service operated in many instances to reduce industrial friction. Consider for example, the settlement of the controversy over hours and wages on the railroads with the similar situation before the war. The matter was very easy to adjust under the pressure of the principle of universal service. But before the war it was a matter of conflict between those whose interest and duty were the making of profit in order to pay dividends and those whose interest and duty were to secure wages in order that proper standards of living might be maintained for their families. That conflict of interests then plunged the country into turmoil and finally had to be settled by congressional action. But during the war, when the same question was raised, the director general of railroads called in the heads of the respective railroad workers' organizations and said in effect: "Now gentlemen, we are all engaged in helping the boys at the front; I have appointed the following commission which will see to it that you get a square deal in the matter of wages. We want you now to ask your men to work whatever time is necessary in order to meet the necessity of the nation in this crisis." It was only a few minutes before those same men, who a year

or two before had contested a similar action through weeks of bitter conflict, were on the way to the telephone to call up their respective lieutenants throughout the country and say that overtime "went without limit." And it did go without limit. A railroad man at a station west of New York, at the bottle-neck which the freight of the country had to pour through to get to the shipping points, said, "I have been many years in railroading, but I have never see freight move as it is now." It was a result of the application of the principle of universal service. The question now is, will that spirit pass with the passing of the national emergency, or will it continue to be the dominating principle of our organized life?

During the war, there was not only recognition of the validity of the principle of universal service, but there was a requirement to some degree of equality of service. That is, there was a sharp protest against any disproportion of service or of gain and if it was shown that any group of capitalists or workers were evading their proportion of the needed service for the hour, or that they were unduly seeking profits instead of service, the public condemnation was instant and severe. Not a little of the friction in the industrial organization that is now troubling us in this country and in Great Britain is due to the feeling that there was in some instances an inequality of service during the war.

It ought to be evident that if the principle of universal service is needed in time of war, it is needed still more in time of peace, because the needs of peace time are very much more complex and difficult to meet. Yet in attempting to meet them, our economic life continually obeys the motive of profit before it answers the call of service. It will not be denied that the great social evils of poverty, disease and vice constitute more difficult foes to deal with than a hostile nation, require an even greater degree of concentration of activity and of resources. Against these common enemies of mankind there can

be no final victory without the acceptance of the principle of universal service. To defeat them, society must overcome the opposition that nature, inanimate and animate, continually offers to human progress. In the daily struggle to maintain its life against a natural environment which is in many respects hostile, in the conflict which must be waged against its own nature if life is to be advanced in the direction of its ideals, mankind will need all its material and spiritual resources and all its capacity for social mobilization.

It is also quite evident that it is very much more difficult to secure international coöperation in the joint tasks of peace time than in the war time struggle of one group of nations against another group. This is because, as long as our economic life is organized on the basis of competition, as long as men and nations continue to seek possessions, there is in their daily mode of life the incentive to, and the motive for, international friction, so that their economic necessity so conceived, continually defeats their ideal of coöperation. How is it possible to secure lasting international coöperation in a League of Nations except the nations obey the obligation for universal service to the common interests of humanity in all their activities?

It is time to ask to what extent does the law of universal service already obtain, where in our present social arrangements is it accepted as a continuous obligation? It appears, in what to home spun democrats will be an unexpected quarter. It is to be seen in the aristocratic section of society in Europe, at least among those who can be called Tories, and not Bourbons. These terms are often used without due discrimination, for there is a large distinction between the Bourbons and the Tories. The Bourbons claim only privilege and accept no obligation; the Tories accept the obligation of feudal chivalry, the imperative of "noblesse oblige." The motto of the Prince of Wales, heir to the English throne, and head of the aristoc-

racy of Great Britain is, "Ich dien"—"I serve." This code is at once the pride, and the strength, and the only excuse of an aristocratic group in society. And according to their lights the English landed aristocracy, as a class, did serve and trained their sons to serve. True, their service was to take place within the area of privilege, it was to be the service of a governing class carefully trained to rule by certain standards, but still the concept of service was there as it has not yet obtained among the newer Bourbons of the plutocratic section of an industrial society. The "nouveaux riche," having fought their way to the top, for the most part claim the spoils and do not sense any obligation of service. Democracy has yet some virtues to learn from an aristocratic class which has had a long function in the social order, and may still have it for some time to come.

The aristocratic principle of "noblesse oblige," which was the contribution of the knightly order of chivalry to mediæval Europe, and was its outstanding virtue, has been expressed and organized in modern times in the so-called learned professions. In the old days of classical education, the law, medicine and the ministry were supposed to be the only vocations open to gentlemen who did not follow the calling of arms or government. This was largely because they embodied the aristocratic spirit of service and were not carried on for gain. This spirit has been carried over into the newer professions which have come out of the development of science; if scientific education is to save itself from the social sterility which has to some degree come upon the older education of classical days, its product must be trained groups of public servants who will consider it a violation of their professional code in any degree to seek profit rather than the service of humanity. Moreover, an education which is to be democratic and help to produce and maintain a democratic society, must train the entire citizenship to live by the spirit of service,

which has been the saving principle of aristocracy and the life-giving principle of the professions, as the very breath of its being.

There has come up recently a special order of service to the community; it comprises various philanthropic, humanitarian and religious organizations, under the general head of social service. But in a normal community there would be no need nor justification for even the existence of that phrase, let alone of a special group set part for social service. In the normal community, the obligation of this professional group to serve humanity would motivate every function of society. It is apparent that a large area of society is not yet dominated by the principle of service, when it becomes necessary to set apart specialized social servants. The larger part of this necessity roots in the fact that not service but profit is the dominant motive of economic action; that economic activity, which increasingly affects the rest of our living, has been dominated by the predatory spirit. It is carried on largely as a conflict, by methods that belong to the days of barbaric warfare before chivalry tried to make the service of arms a knightly service to humanity. It is perhaps because the spirit of combat has received new stimulus in the field of industrial activity that this arena still resists the influence of that spirit of service which has come to actuate other relationships in society. The economic function is still carried on more from the motive of gain than from the motive of service. That was one reason for the social discredit of the trading classes in a feudal system, which still holds over to some extent in those countries where there is still aristocracy of birth. It is partly because the trader follows gain as the dominant motive of his activity that the aristocratic order, in Japan for example, looks upon trade as something discreditable and even immoral, because not subject to the same ethical rule of service that binds the nobility to the state.

The business world is now attempting to uphold a double standard: for capital, profit; for labor, service. Many people who do not accept the law of service in their own lives are yet insisting that labor shall answer to that law. They openly declare that the function of wage earners is to produce, to give values to the community without stint, they tacitly affirm, and in practice insist, that it is the privilege of the property owners to seek private adventure and gain, and that without restraint, if restraint can be averted or avoided. During the war, because of the necessity of getting a maximum production in the shortest possible time, the double standard of economic morals was sharply challenged. The obligation of service was largely extended and accepted in the industrial field. It remains to be seen if industry will now go back to the unashamed pursuit of private gain, whether its strong men will insist on being exempt from the law of universal service.

That is really the main question now before the house of humanity. Is the world of economic activity going to accept the law of universal service from top to bottom? There is a constant clash between the will to power and the will to serve both within and between men. This originates mostly in the matter of property rights and duties, that is, in the field of economic action. Here then is where democracy must protect itself by extending the obligation to serve, since its future depends upon its ability to secure the universal service of its members.

There are two fields for the expression of this principle of universal service in the new order. One is the field of mutual helpfulness. This is a voluntary obligation and is accepted by all right-minded men. They regard it as their duty and privilege to help their neighbor in their neighbor's need. Such a spirit leads the woodsman to leave his cabin open for the needs of the traveler; actuates all neighborly service and

organized philanthropy; leads the strong nations to feed starving peoples in other lands. It is only under the voluntary acceptance of this principle of mutual obligation that a brotherly community can be developed. Such a community existed for a little while in the City of Jerusalem in the beginning of what we call the Christian era. There, a little band of folk, under the impetus of a great teaching embodied in a life, considered the obligation of service to be the imperative rule of life, helped each other's need and saw that none lacked what the common resource was able to supply. Such an attitude exists at this day on the frontier where men and women have to fight the battle against nature in its sharpest form, and with the least equipment. There anybody's need is everybody's need and everybody serves it at any cost of hardship, toil or danger.

But when people get isolated in the crowd of the city, then the common needs of all individuals tend to become the immediate, personal concern of nobody but themselves, everybody's business is indeed nobody's business. But gradually the things that the members of the family do for each other, meeting the common obligations of food and health, the things that the neighbors always do for each other in simpler communities, become organized in the city into a system and get done by paid workers and boards and institutions and government. This is the only way they can be done effectively under the abnormal and unnatural conditions of certain parts of our city life. Everybody's business must be done by everybody acting together. But there still exists the universal obligation on the part of the individual citizen to perform any service to meet any neighbor's need that comes under his vision; and unless that be recognized and met, all the machinery for social service becomes so much mechanics against which even the people that are being benefited finally revolt in bitterness. If then we want to have a brotherly community

extended throughout the world, we must continue to extend this family and neighborhood tie of mutual helpfulness which is the real and vital bond of the natural community. We must discipline the members of our more sophisticated society in the duty of helping each other.

There is a great difference between the service of democratic mutual helpfulness and the service of a governing class, fine as the latter may be. There is all the difference in the world between "my Lady Bountiful" in an English village making her visits to the cottages of laborers, carrying her fruits and other comforts for the sick, and the interchange of such services in a small American community between people who may have a difference of income and intellectual development, but who nevertheless have been accustomed to look upon each other as equals and are in fact equals in so far as their status under the government is concerned. When democracy accepts the principle of "noblesse oblige," it presupposes equality and then moves in that direction; it does not attempt to sustain the existing stratification of society by merely ameliorating the lot of 'the lower classes." Of course the subtlest temptation to inequality after all is the temptation to claim and exercise a privilege of special service. There is no severer test of a democracy than the nature and spirit of its social service. Is it merely an attempt to help the inferior; is it merely the old type benevolence, or is it mutual helpfulness? If it is to strengthen and not weaken democracy, it must involve the attempt to raise the general level, until the weaker who are being helped and the ignorant who are being taught shall ultimately be raised to the plane of those helping and teaching. If democracy is to realize itself, eventually all the services that are now done by the people above to the people below, from the stronger to the weaker, will be finally a mutual exchange between equals. That will hold true for nations as well as for individuals and classes.

The other field in which universal service needs to be extended in the democratic state, is the field of economic organization. In the last four years democratic communities have apparently accepted the principle of the universal obligation of citizens for the military defense of the state. How many people who therein proclaimed it and accepted it will now accept it in so far as civic duties are concerned? How many people who fill out their income tax blanks and send in their checks will do so with the feeling that they are discharging a service to the state equivalent to that which the state called upon them to render in the time of war, and how many will do it with a grouchy feeling of having to give up something they would rather hold on to? Yet if the principle of universal service is valid in military affairs, it is also valid in civic affairs. If the state may call upon me in its need to offer my body for its defense, it may also call upon me in its need to offer my last dollar for the maintenance of its life. Yet the latter obligation is strenuously denied where the former is cheerfully accepted. The measure of that denial may be taken by considering the report of the Treasury Department concerning the amount received from the income tax and the amount which should have been received from the known income of those subject to the tax.

It is plain that the most difficult application of the law of service will be in the field of economic activity. It involves a change in the concept of the very nature of business. It means further that social service will no longer be considered a matter extraneous to the main functions of life, but the whole enterprise of life, its total activity, will be viewed and undertaken as social service. If the teacher and the preacher, the doctor and the soldier are servants of the community in all their activities, why are not the financier, the manufacturer, the wage earner and the farmer? If the economic enterprise must operate for the good of the community rather than for

personal gain in time of peril from war, why should it not so operate in other days? There is good ground for the contention that modern society cannot secure economic efficiency except through a more coöperative organization and the extension of mutual service. It was law and custom in the primitive and tribal family for each member to accept the obligation that fell upon him in securing the common food supply. We have hardly yet outgrown the ancient tradition; for in the United States the idle rich still have to apologize for their existence. If we are to be true to the course of social development and the national tradition concerning useful labor, we shall now find a way to rigorously apply the principle of universal service to the fundamental economic organization of the community life. That raises the question of who are the parasites. And some of us will have to defend our existence, because we have looked down so long upon the folk who work with their hands as an inferior group, who could even be dispensed with if it would not be so inconvenient to have to do their work. But we are the important people, the intelligent folk, the ones who run society, without whom it could not get along. Consequently they have developed a similar idea concerning us; they are beginning to think that they can, if need be, get along without us, and some of them are trying to do it even now. As soon as the claim is made that society should require of everybody some useful labor, each group of workers rises to assert that it is the most useful. If we apply the principle of democracy, that dispute will ultimately be settled by the majority; and the majority can be trusted to find out what is good for it in a little while. The people will not finally go astray. Goaded by hardship and suffering, contempt and oppression, they may react wrongly for a while, but life will teach them very speedily what are the real values. They will soon come to know that while economic activities are absolutely basic,

that without them there can be no society, there are also other activities essential to the well-being of the community, without which it cannot develop out of the animal stage.

When we get to that point, and we may get there more quickly than some of us think, there will be one of two things for the intellectuals to do. They will either have to help the other workers adjust economic functions to other intellectual activities so that the two can be done by the same person without fatigue and limitation of either general economic or other personal productivity, or else they will have to be exempted from certain of the economic functions of society because of the value of their services in another field. In this connection a production engineer says: "I have been unable to prove, under existing systems, that I can reduce the working hours to less than six a day and make it pay, but I have been able to demonstrate to my satisfaction that if we could remove certain hindrances and objections, I could reduce them to four and make a profit to the community, and do this on an economically sound basis. Furthermore, we shall be able to do it in two hours before very long." And the interviewer said: "What, socialism?" "No," said he, "simply engineering."

If that is true, and if the engineers can do it quickly enough, there is hope for some of us who are now apart from the basic economic activities of society that we may yet be able to live without knowing that other people, who are overburdened with economic activities, feel that we are parasites carried on their backs. It is evident of course that there are certain other services which are as absolutely necessary to society as the economic function, and which cannot now, and perhaps ever, be carried on along with economic activities by the same persons, so that those rendering these other services must be exempt from certain kinds of economic activity. That raises the question of conscription.

Does it comport with our democratic principle of freedom to conscript people for universal service in any functions necessary for the life of the community? If it can be done in time of war why not in time of peace? Of course the state which proposes such a policy is under obligation to prove that the activities for which it conscripts its citizens are essential to the ongoing of the life of the community and that the life of the community is best advanced by doing this on some coordinated, regulated plan. It must also prove that more freedom will result for personal expression in the higher reaches of human activity. The latter question may be assumed to be answered when a state democratically choses universal service in economic activity. The issue of conscientious objection is not involved in universal economic service as it is in universal military service. It occurs in the form of the external question of the authority of the community over the individual. This question is on the road to settlement as fast and as far as the state becomes the coöperative organization of community life and ceases to be a merely regulative institution. In any form of state, the conscientious objector is needed occasionally to keep its soul alive, but the need and the occasion for him lessens as the vital functions of life come under the common, direct control of the people, through the simplest and easiest forms for the unhampered expression and execution of their choices. Even the anarchist concedes the necessity for the common organization of essential community functions. He only demands that it shall be a matter of voluntary choice. Of course, under such a situation there would be the possibility of maladjustments and maladministration, of the principle of universal service coming to be used for the good and profit of certain groups. In that case we should need at once our conscientious objectors to protest and refuse to serve a special interest, but I doubt if anybody who is physically able can make a case for declining to serve

in some sort the fundamental needs of our community life, without which he himself could not exist.

Those who incline toward an aristocratic form of society, usually without knowing it, at once raise the question what becomes of the strong men? If, as the final expression of the principle of fraternity, universal service in some form or other is to be required of every member of the community, will society stop developing the strong men who are now supposed to be the most efficient leaders, and whose capacity for leadership is supposed to be developed by certain rewards of privilege and power? It is pertinent to remember that it now appears to be the concensus of opinion of an increasingly large majority of the people all over the world that they do not want to be ruled by the strong, and if that be so of course they are not going to be troubled very much by a system which does not develop the strong to be rulers, at the cost of concessions which make burdens for the rest.

But a democratic community has particular need and place for those of special ability. It will give them special service and even special exemption from functions that would limit their usefulness to the common life. That is the habit of democratic organizations, as the history of the labor movement demonstrates. Not even a "Red" army can afford to risk the lives of certain men in the front-line trenches. But such exemption must be democratically determined on the ground of the common good. What the people now object to is that many of the most fit are now automatically or autocratically exempted from some of the more difficult, arduous and monotonous obligations of life, not for the purposes of service but for the purpose of special privilege in exploitation.

In a genuine democracy, the principle of universal service would continually call for the strong as leaders and not as rulers; as servants and not as masters. The democratic community which shuts the door against the possibility of mastery

and privilege by those of special ability will open another door still wider in the opportunity for leadership. Does not this constitute a greater challenge to human ambition? Does not democracy fling out a greater stimulus to the development of the individual, to the training and use to the fullest extent of his capacities, because it offers him the highest expression of them in service and the highest application of them in the common pursuit of the common good?

CHAPTER IV

EFFICIENCY

If the new order is to satisfy the modern spirit, it must not only reach out after the supreme ideals, it must not only be actuated by the highest motives, but its operation must be as nearly perfect as is possible. Certainly, its mechanism must run a great deal easier and truer than does the machinery of our present social organization. The word efficiency is a product of the mechanical era. In many circles to-day it is a phrase to conjure with. Originating in the business world, it is now being applied to all sorts of organizations. Those of us who have so far evaded the efficiency experts will sooner or later find ourselves under their tutelage. Education and religion are now being surveyed and their programmes charted by efficiency methods. The gist of the demand for efficiency is that the scientific method, which in the modern era has worked such a revolution in the world of thought, is now being applied to the world of economic and social organization. That, in a nut shell, is what is meant by the term efficiency: applying the scientific method rigorously to human organization. The aim of the efficiency movement becomes perfection in social mechanics. In a modern industrial plant, machines are constantly tested in regard to their efficiency, to determine whether they are delivering the full amount of power of which they are capable to the task for which they were contrived, and in the easiest possible way.

So now men want to know whether the world is getting the best results from its human machinery; whether it is developing all the power of which it is capable; whether it is applying

that power to the tasks which humanity needs to get done; whether it is running with the least possible friction. This is the contribution of science to the idealism that makes for a new order, as it leads men to reach after perfection in the mechanics of social organization in order that humanity may accomplish its chosen purposes with the least expenditure of effort, and the largest possible results.

The phrase efficiency is most familiar to us as it has been used in commercial and industrial organization by those who have developed what is called scientific management. Of this school of industrial thought and practice Mr. F. W. Taylor was the founder. The center of his teaching was the proclamation that the energy of human workers, like the power of machinery, is subject to law. His endeavor was to discover that law and get it followed in industrial management. He demonstrated, by a number of experiments in specific operations, that it was possible to discover how the highest degree of energy could be attained by a worker, and the largest possible output secured, without fatigue. On the basis of these individual experiments, a factory was organized so that its maximum output could be secured with the minimum of energy and expense.

The principle of scientific management has been limited, its prestige impaired and its methods distorted, by the profit makers. It gains in value and strength as it is applied to those activities of life which are not organized for private gain. At least it challenges society as a whole to examine its workings and discover the relation of its means to its ends. It raises the question of social efficiency; what is it, and how may it be attained?

The philosophical definition of efficiency would be "the best adaptation of means to ends." But that implies the power to choose ends. One of the constant activities of human thought and endeavor is to discover in any field of life the

means that are best adapted to the securing of the chosen end. The course of progress lies in the acquisition of power to choose ends and adapt means to them in ever-widening fields of action and forms of association. But so far mankind has not yet reached that stage of social consciousness where it can consciously choose the ends of its associated living, can agree as to what society is driving at, and whither it should be guided. One of the significant features of our present situation is the striving of the whole human race to get some common consciousness of the ends of human living. The ability to adapt the whole means of human living, the whole complex machinery of human life, in the best possible manner to the securing of chosen ends, depends upon the nature of the ends that are chosen. The efficiency engineer can get better results in a factory coöperatively owned and managed by its workers than in one operated for the profit of persons apart from the workers. How much of the difficulty in getting efficient international machinery is due to the assumption that the present ends of our social organization are permanent?

Social efficiency then involves more than social engineering. It depends also upon a social philosophy, a social ethics, and a social religion, which will develop a common understanding of the true ends of life, common moral judgments concerning the means necessary to reach them, and a common capacity for service and sacrifice in the undertaking. No mechanical concept of efficiency in economic undertakings can be called social, it cannot even develop efficiency in economic activity.

Obviously the prerequisite of social efficiency is knowledge. There is a large body of so-called pure science behind any particular piece of engineering or scientific management. The same thing is necessarily true concerning social engineering. If the path of development is by means of coöperative action, society must understand very fully the laws of coöperative activity. The whole of our modern progress in associated

living rests upon science. It is true that great individual minds and spirits, comparable to any that have developed since, existed prior to the scientific period; but general advance in standards of living and their attainment depends absolutely upon the exact knowledge which modern science has given us, both concerning the physical universe and the nature and activities of man. Just as the development of transportation and communication depends upon a number of physical sciences, so does any advance in health depend not only upon community activities for the purpose, but upon research in biology and other correlated sciences. Consequently the new order rests back upon educational fundamentals, upon the discoveries of science, and the ability to utilize them.

The second element in social efficiency is the application of knowledge to social organization. It is one thing to develop knowledge; it is another thing to impart that knowledge successfully to the people; it is still another thing to apply that knowledge effectively in social organization. Take for example, the question of congestion in a great city. There exists exact knowledge concerning the kind of dwellings best adapted to the development of family life. There exists exact knowledge concerning the means of transportation that would enable a city population to be moved to and from the territory where it is possible to build the desired kind of houses. But until there is more common knowledge concerning the relation between human values and the ownership, control and use of the land, our knowledge concerning houses and means of transportation is largely ineffective and futile, and must remain so. When the people find out the exact relation between bad housing and our property system, there will be effective change. Yet there is in existence a very much greater body of knowledge concerning this aspect of the problem than is now being applied. There is more knowledge concerning the comparative value to the nation of disease-

breeding tenements and the income derived from them, and also of the means for the elimination and prevention of such plague spots, than there is either the desire or the will to put into action.

Perhaps the greatest factor in our present social inefficiency is unused and unapplied knowledge. Consider for instance the matter of taxation, the question of how the nation shall pay for the war, of how it shall distribute its income in future years. There is in existence in our universities a very definite body of scientific knowledge on this subject that has never yet been applied by our legislatures, and were it applied we should at once get relief from the present situation and have much more hope of social progress in the near future. Such progress as we have made in government in recent years has been due to the steady inroad of science in the field of legislation and administration. Democracy can never succeed merely because of its sound ethical principles. Its ideals alone have not been able to overcome the innate greed and ambition of human nature. Its graft has become notorious, and has been overcome only by making the scientific method the instrument of the democratic ideal in government. Efficiency in government is not to be secured by heeding the cry from business circles for business methods in administration, for business is conducted for profit, and however much it may improve the mechanics of government, will in the end conduct it too for profit.

Efficiency in government must be scientific and not business efficiency: the application of scientific knowledge by scientific methods, in the scientific spirit; which is the spirit of service to the common interest by which alone democracy can live.

The most significant evidence of present social inefficiency through unused knowledge is to be found in the waste of economic and vital resources in the highly organized nations. The loss of energy and goods through the duplication and

destruction of competitive methods is a matter of common knowledge. The tremendous waste of the vital forces of the community from preventable disease is also being popularly proclaimed. It is also well known that this nation is developing only a part of the mental efficiency which its material wealth and educational capacity make possible. One minor factor of that situation is the loss through the misfits of our present industrial situation. When the nation organized for war, it put the psychologists to work to select, by scientific test, the men best adapted to the tasks that the army needed to get done. There are a few private plants in this country doing that sort of thing but, as a whole, our industrial organization is losing an incalculable amount of productive energy because it makes no attempt to fit the worker to the task he is best able to do. Still more significant is the loss of productive energy in our present method of industrial ownership and management due to the divided interest of capital and labor and the constant friction between them, because this also involves a loss of the spiritual capacity of the community, as what might be the cementing force of economic coöperation becomes the dividing flame of class war.

Corresponding to the waste from cross-purpose and lack of coördination in economic activities is the waste that occurs from a similar cause in what are called the higher activities of life, though it is time to challenge that distinction. The root of the difficulty is not that a number of organizations are engaged in promoting the same or interrelated ends without any relationship to each other in particular, at times pulling and hauling in different directions. That matter is being remedied by federation as fast as is good for the free play of initiative. The root of the matter is that there is no adequate agreement as to end or method, no sufficient consciousness of a common purpose between the major forces dealing with the spiritual interests of society, that is, between education

and religion and again between these forces and those dealing with the practical activities of life, industry and government. Therefore such progress as we achieve is largely the result of the blind contact or conflict of separate forces.

Our social life is still for the most part anarchic. Within the community, as within the nation, the situation is very much as it was in Europe in 1914; in large part chaos, with no common purpose, no coördination of activities, in the most vital matters of life. If this is indeed the core of our social inefficiency, then the central issue in the problem of social efficiency is to answer the question what, is the social machine running for? What is the common goal of it all?

Those who have raised the slogan of efficiency have not been unmindful of this question, but dominated by an industrial civilization, their tendency has been to conceive the question purely in terms of economic organization and to fail to see that it must cover the whole social striving of man. Yet the economic function covers so much of human life and so vitally affects the rest that its purpose and meaning largely determine the rest. The efficiency engineers are now preaching what to them is a gospel, that the object of economic organization is not to make money but to secure the maximum production of goods. They point out that there is a conflict between commercial efficiency seeking personal gain and productive efficiency seeking to supply common needs, and that the outstanding reason for inefficiency in our economic organization is that the commercial and financial controllers and directors of it have the object of making money in greater degree than the object of meeting the needs of society. They point out that there is now more capital expended in selling than in producing, and contend that if this process is reversed, wages and standards of living will rise and make greater consumption possible, with a consequent demand for more production. They are not afraid of overproduction, declaring

that we have never yet produced all the things the people need, but have simply failed to make it possible for them to use the things they have produced. A few months ago, there was a tense effort to produce food stuffs, and coal and metals, now we are shutting down our mines and our factories and plants and letting them lie idle because that which has been piled up cannot be consumed. The productive engineers declare that this is the constantly repeated situation, that more than half the machines are always idle, more than half the labor power is wasted in idleness, and the rest of the machinery and labor power are badly used.

The objective of the production engineers is maximum production. They are considering the economic machine as the instrument of society in general, to produce the goods that the community needs for its maintenance and development, and not to enable a part of the community to amass wealth and privilege and power. Their test of the efficiency of the economic machine is the relation of the goods produced to effort expended. The greater the amount of goods produced with the least expenditure of energy, the more efficient from their standpoint is the economic organization, and the more useful to society.

So far they make their case. They are emphasizing a very necessary factor in human development. Unless we do increase our economic productivity we cannot advance our general standard of living. Our figures for national income and cost of living show that to make general throughout the population a standard of living higher than the minimum it will be necessary for us to increase very much our national wealth and income. Therefore, in their emphasis upon this point, the production engineers are rendering a genuine service. But there are some other aspects of the question. What is the relation of efficiency in production to efficiency in consumption? It is suggested by certain socialist writers that

along with a maximum of production must go a minimum of consumption; that is, the minimum which would conduce to the well-being of the individual and of society. Economic efficiency is thus defined as the union of social economy in consumption with maximum production by the least expenditure of effort.

This involves the question of efficiency in distribution as well as in production. The larger part of recent efforts for social justice has been directed toward securing more equality in the distribution of the results of the common toil. But this great effort for social justice has been somewhat under an illusion regarding the social effects of justice in distribution. It has failed to recognize that unless efficiency in production is increased along with justice in distribution, standards of living cannot be raised. Soviet Russia has found that out, and it has been Lenin's constant exhortation. On the other hand, if the factor of justice in distribution is neglected, no efficiency scheme can carry production beyond a certain point, because a sense of injustice is one of the greatest hindrances to productive activity. Efficiency engineers have finally to reckon with the intangible elements in the problem, those factors of human relationship that we call moral and religious. Both industry and social science must fully face the fact that man is vastly more than a goods-producing and goods-consuming creature. They must reckon with the immortal spark within him that refuses to be satisfied with material comforts, that ever pursues the impossible. It is this aspect of human nature which must be given expression and development in all social and economic arrangements. Professor Felix Frankfurter recently declared as a result of his wide experience in the adjustment of labor disputes that there were certain spiritual factors which were the determining factors. From the ranks of industrial managers themselves comes increasing testimony that economic efficiency depends upon the securing

of creative, self-expression on the part of the workers, and this cannot be done without ownership in the process.

It has been demonstrated that more goods can be produced when conciliation and joint agreement displaces dispute and friction between employer and employed. It has further been demonstrated that a greater release of productive energy can be secured by coöperative ownership and control. At this point the solution of economic efficiency touches the larger problem of which it is so large a part, the greater question of efficiency for society as a whole. Maximum production is secured by finding a common end, in which all the workers share. Then to get complete social efficiency there must be a common agreement as to the real end of society and a common effort to secure it.

Is the answer to the problem of efficiency in economic activity the answer to the whole question? Is the maximum production of goods and their equitable use the end of human living, individual or social? Is all scientific improvement and all economic democracy merely for the production of goods in order that these goods may be enjoyed? Or is this a means to another end? After all that science can discover is applied with the utmost degree of educational efficiency to the social organization, are we then to be nothing better than educated swine, using our goods and our knowledge and our democracy for the satisfaction of the senses in time and space? Or are there further ends for human endeavor, at present but dimly perceived?

CHAPTER V

THE SUPREMACY OF PERSONALITY

So far in our industrial society, efficiency has been interpreted too exclusively in terms of wealth production, and the danger is that it will be so interpreted. To offset this is the fact that many educators and social workers are strenuously endeavoring to give social efficiency its real content, to take it far beyond the field of wealth production into the wider ranges of human living. They are facing the question of the end of human living in order that the means of life may be truly determined. They are asking not only in what respects, but for what purpose, is humanity to be efficient.

That, of course, is one of the old questions of philosophy, both for individual and social living; but as the world life becomes organized in such a way that humanity can in fellowship choose its ends and work toward them, this question of philosophy becomes a very practical issue for the common people. The question of what the social organization is driving at is, after all, a very concrete question. Here is a scientific, mechanical age trying its best to get its machinery adapted to certain immediate ends with the utmost possible perfection, without any general vision of the final end of human endeavor. So that after all the toil and struggle of social organization, the spirit of humanity remains unsatisfied and often defeated. In the most advanced communities there is still much cynicism and not a little despondency.

One of the outstanding things about the world war was that it became the outlet for certain of the aspirations and ideals of mankind which had not found expression in the ordinary

days of peace. Multitudes of men were released from a humdrum life with little meaning or purpose to it except to earn enough to keep them and to give them an occasional good time, and were thrown out into a vast undertaking with a great purpose, their energies raised to the supreme point in pursuit of an ideal. That fact does a little redeem the barbarism of modern scientific warfare, which is the most brutal of any kind of war in history. The war did what civilization in peace has failed to do for multitudes of people; it gave expression to some of the greatest faculties of humanity. It brought to light the evident need of a greater goal for the common run of people than life usually affords them, it emphasized their capacity for higher as well as lower living than the level of their previous routine. I think it will not be questioned that a large proportion of the population most of the time finds no spiritual meaning and no spiritual satisfaction in the business of living. Unless this state of affairs can be changed, history moves on to its supreme tragedy: the development of all the resources of knowledge and all the powers of civilization and their application to no other than material needs and sensuous enjoyments on the part of the majority of the people. Either humanity must find a higher goal than that for its energy, or perish, either from the diseases developed by the indulgence of its appetites or from the conflicts incident to such a mode of life. What that goal may be is not a question merely of choice or of ideals, it is a matter of knowledge; it depends upon an understanding of the past development of the race. Is there any meaning evident in the social progress of mankind? This is the question which must be put to social science when humanity attempts to answer in a practical way the old philosophical question of the end of human living.

What then has science to say about the goal of human life? If there is one thing that humanity needs now it is a conscious-

ness of the direction of the process of living. That is a much bigger question than to ask what is now the kind of world organization for this generation to choose. And the right answer to the smaller question depends upon the right answer to the larger, for it determines the policy for which any new political or social machinery is shaped. Here is this long evolutionary process from the lowest and most minute form of animal life up to the complex world organization of humanity, covering how long a period of time no one knows, involving so many ramifications of life that it takes many branches of science to describe them. Can we find out what it all means by learning anything concerning its trend? Is it moving in any definite direction, so that the direction will give us some light upon the question of the end which humanity ought now to consciously choose? Some scientists as well as philosophers have asked whether there is any progress at all or whether there is not merely a constant renewal of cycles one after another without any evidence of advance. But as associated life develops, from the early tribal community up to our modern complex society, it is clear that there is an increasing power to socially choose the ends of the common life and then to work to these ends when they are chosen. In and through and behind all this progress of social organization there continually runs this power for ever larger groups of people together to choose what they are living for and then to move toward the chosen goal.

In the past many generations of men have worked in the dark like coral insects, living and dying without any conscious choice concerning ends, not knowing what life meant except to eat and drink and beget and fight and die. But now we build in the light. We have learned what these folks of the past were doing and how they did it. We have seen how each generation has moved the house of humanity a little nearer to the light, become a little more conscious of a plan and a little

more able to work to it. And as history and social science open up to us this whole process of social evolution, there is an overpowering sense of the vastness of the undertaking that almost overwhelms us, just as the physical universe overwhelmed our forgotten ancestors. But this knowledge should beget faith, it is a guarantee of the possibility of consciously organizing the complex world life of man. It is small wonder that to those who are unfamiliar with the facts of science—to the common people and even to many men of affairs—this attempt to make a world organization must seem an impossible venture. It is to them launching out into the vast unknown deep, and they feel just as their ancestors must have felt, or like the first mariner when he put out his little cockle shell upon the great sea. But for those who know the facts, there is no excuse for fear of the unknown future. Our ancestors were compelled to fear the unknown physical universe because they were ignorant of its nature and operation. Something of that fear is still in us, but with the light that science has already thrown upon the dark places of life there is no reason for this generation to fear the necessary task of exploring and settling and organizing the undiscovered regions of human living.

It may be argued that there has been no marked increase in individual living in several thousand years. It is quite possible to pick out certain great characters of the past—some great Hebrew prophets, some great Greek philosophers, some great patriots of ancient history—and say we have not produced any better; here is as high a type of human living as the race has ever seen. But suppose we compare the social living of to-day with the social living of that period from which these great individuals were selected, and what then is the judgment? It becomes apparent that there has been a development, first of the standards of social living, and second of the general average of personality. The modern

age may not have produced any greater individuals than the past, but can it be disproved that the average of human living has been very greatly raised in the past few thousand years? On the physical plane the vital statistics of the past century offer conclusive evidence for those countries where public health has been promoted. In the mental world there is some evidence in the decrease of illiteracy. In the moral realm there is evident an increased sense of the dignity and worth of the common person. He counts for more in the scheme of things; he expresses more of his faculties, he realizes more of the values of his personality. All this is manifestly true if a comparison is made between a primitive state of society and that of to-day; it is also true if a shorter period of time is taken and the average life of to-day is compared with the average life of ancient civilizations or with that of the earlier periods of our own western civilization.

These evident facts concerning progress, being a part of the increasing power to socially choose ends and follow them, throw some light on the question of what it is all about. Of course that question is not finally to be answered in time and space. We do not and cannot now know all that we are, let alone all that we shall be. An imperishable part of life is the great quest of the human spirit for the infinite, and while all that we can now do is to choose our ends for time and space, yet our "homesickness for the eternal" leads us to choose them in the hope and faith that they have eternal meaning and value. Therefore the ends of human living in time and space must be determined by this twofold test; first the evidence of the trend of progress, and second the satisfaction that they afford to the spiritual aspirations of humanity. Science and religion then jointly must find the answer to the question; they must together develop a social philosophy.

If, to the average person who does not know much about science or history or philosophy, the question is put, "What

is the most valuable thing in the universe for you?" in what terms will the answer be likely to come? Will it not be in terms of personality? If it happens to be a particularly self-centered person it may possibly be in terms of their own existence, but for the ordinary run of persons it will be some other person or persons who hold for them the supreme values of life by ties of kinship or the choice of a supreme affection; some other person or persons for whom they are perfectly willing at any time to lose their own life. On the train quite constantly I see traveling men pull out their watches and in a big majority of cases there is a photograph of a person or a family group on the inside of the case, and that picture is their answer to the question of supreme values. As life enlarges its interests and associations the estimate of value in terms of personality is made in group forms; men value the family more than themselves, the state more than their family, and humanity above the state, because these groupings are really an enlargement of personality, with the power to increase its values.

If the question of supreme values is put to human institutions, the answer comes also in terms of personality. Ask the state and the school and the church what they are trying to do, and they will tell you they are trying to develop people; their end is to produce a certain type of individual and a certain kind of associated living. One of the greatest words of philosophy is that no human being must ever be treated as a means, but always as an end. The greatest teacher of religion asks, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul,"—that is, destroy his own personality? He declares: "I am come that they may have life; and that they may have it more abundantly."

Without the key of the meaning and value of personality, the universe is an insoluble riddle and man sinks into despair. With that key in his possession, he becomes, if need be, inde-

pendent of the physical universe. For the development of personality in time and space, of course, he depends upon the environment of nature; but if he so will, he can defy the world, he can blow it to pieces about his head and with his body smashed to fragments go out into the future in a supreme assertion of himself.

It does not lie within our present purpose to define personality, but simply to point out that the new order must recognize and attempt to realize its supreme worth and value. It must be said, however, that personality is increasingly defined in social terms, its values are discovered and realized in fellowship. We shall be able to add a great deal to what the philosophers have told us about personality by experimentally discovering in social action what personality may become. If there is a greater sense of the dignity and worth of the common run of people to-day than there was a thousand years ago, it is due to the fact that improvements in social organization have developed and actually realized greater values in the common run of people. Thus the process of social development continually defines and enlarges the nature of personality. It becomes increasingly clear that the meaning and end of individual life and of social living is reciprocal and inter-dependent; that each feeds upon, enlarges and completes the other. The more the individual values the community, the more he contributes to it, and thereby enlarges his own life; the higher the community regards its constituent members, the more it provides for their development, the stronger and richer is its own life.

It follows, therefore, that the new order must seek for its chosen end and goal the development of personality. The things of the spirit and not material goods must be the ultimate and supreme object of its endeavor. This is not simply idealism, not merely a question of imagining, wishing and choosing a high goal; it is also a question of understanding

the trend and direction of the evolutionary social process, of accepting and working with it. The social order is not spiritualized by injecting something into it, but rather by discovering what are its inherent spiritual values and then consciously developing them. This is the process of ethical and spiritual development for the individual. As he comes to consciousness he chooses certain values, he embraces certain ends; thus his understanding of life becomes moral and his actions religious. What we are now witnessing on the world stage is in one sense the coming to consciousness of the race. One of the outstanding facts of the time in which we are living is that the world family is growing up and is coming to a stage of common consciousness where it can understand itself and the universe a little, and choose its ends, both intellectual and moral. In order that this may be done to the improvement of life, it is necessary for education and religion to teach as the fundamental principle of the new order the significance of personality and continually to unfold all the capacities of human living for all the people. Their duty is to establish the values of life in their proper degree and proportion, first things first.

As education and religion undertake this task, they have to reckon with a situation in which a world war has affected seriously the value of human life, in a wider sense than physical existence. Whether the result is going to be loss or gain is beyond determination at the present time. On the one hand is the fact that there has been a very large recognition of the value of the common man and woman. They have proved themselves to possess the highest qualities. Society has received a demonstration of their capacities. That ought to raise their future status. It is not reassuring, however, to contrast the estimate that society placed upon the life of the common soldier as a fighting man and the estimate that is now placed upon his life as a working man. There is at once evident quite a depreciation in the value which the war gave

to the common man, not simply because he was needed, but because of the heroic qualities that he everywhere showed himself to possess. Our peace-time industrial organization has not yet found any demand for these heroic qualities, consequently the working man is not worth as much to the community to-day as he was twelve months ago.

A more permanent social result is likely to come from the increased valuation of their own lives which the war gave to the common people. If the man who had never found any meaning or end in life except to earn a living and enjoy what he earned as best he might, was led by the war to consciously offer his life as a supreme sacrifice for a great ideal, he thereby put a higher value upon his own personality than he ever did before. He became worth more to himself as well as worth more to the community.

The question again is, will that man retain the valuation which he thus placed upon himself and to what extent the community will permit or encourage him so to do. If it lets him come home and become a beggar upon the street or a drunken sot carried back to camp by military policemen, it is certain that such men will not long retain this increased valuation of their personalities which came to them during the war.

Over against the gains which the war brought to personality there must be put some evident losses. While multitudes of men got an increased idea of the worth of their own lives, what attitude did they take concerning the worth of the lives of other men, not antagonists, but fellow members of the same army whose lives necessarily had to be spent quite freely, and sometimes cheaply, if the end sought was to be achieved? What effect did that necessarily ruthless and reckless expenditure of life have upon those who witnessed it? Did it increase or depreciate their sense of the value of personality? That question is especially pertinent because of the manner in which modern warfare defiles and destroys the human body.

What permanent effect will the blasphemous and obscene outrages committed upon the human body by scientific warfare have upon the men who constantly witnessed it? It will be a different effect than comes from being exposed to such happenings oneself. There is some evidence in the case, in the effect of the expenditure of human life in the war upon the population at home. Does it disturb us at all to pick up the morning paper and read of two hundred revolutionists shot in cold blood in Berlin, or that the Poles are fighting the Russians on one border and the Prussians on another? Before 1914 we would have been horrified by the fact that a few hundreds of people are being killed every day in various campaigns. But to-day, after the millions of lives lost in the great war, the casualties of these little wars seem minor affairs. We have lost something of our sense of the values of human life.

What this finally means to the world will depend, in the net result, upon two things. First, whether all this expenditure of human life, with all that it cost society for development and education, brings some immediate and manifest gain to the world life. Whether we suffer any loss in our conception of personality from the war will depend, in the first place, upon what we now get out of it. And that answer of course rests mainly with those who have the determining voice in shaping the peace. If this nation, having made possible the winning of the war by the allies, now fails to secure in the peace terms a marked advance in human living, then the world will suffer tremendously in its estimate of the worth of human living for a long time to come.

The other factor is this—whether or not the sacrifice of life was voluntary and conscious of high ends. The men who were driven to the line of combat ignorantly, or chose thoughtlessly to go with no vision of the meaning of the struggle, got no increase in personality from the war, but were brutalized

by it; most of them are not living on as high a plane as before they went. It is only those who go to war with a chosen purpose, for an end worth while, who gain any increase in their personality. It is likely that from the war we shall have lost for some time to come a great deal of the sense of values gained in the western world through our efforts for the conservation and development of human life. To restore their sense of the worth of humanity, the western nations will need now to throw their energy into saving and improving and enlarging the life of all the people; they must undertake the fundamental measures of social reconstruction necessary to make personality the supreme value, and its development the dominant purpose, of organized living.

In establishing the supremacy of personality in modern society, a basic principle of action is that personality must not be limited by institutions, either political, industrial, social or religious. Democracy, in its administration, has raised the world-old conflict between the individual and the group, even as in its inception it raised that issue against another type of administration. It is now compelled by the common people to examine the effect of its institutions upon personality.

Primitive society subdued the individual to the communal thought and activity, and its supremacy of the group over the individual still obtains to a large extent in the eastern world. In the western world there arose the principle of individualism to emancipate persons from undue group control. The power of early social groups over the individual was terrific. Even in the individualistic western world, a large part of that communal power is still perpetuated in tradition, custom and law which the individual violates at the peril of social ostracism. But a good many of the conventional standards and laws which now restrain the individual are the product of associations which men have created by their joint will and reason; the state for instance or the church, or an occu-

pational organization. Just as the primitive social groupings had a very large power over the individual, so it comes about in course of time that these voluntary institutions acquire dominance over the people who belong to them; with age they tend unduly to limit personality and to restrain its development. This acquisition of power by social institutions was one of the reasons for the development of democracy. The rise of democracy is very largely the attempt to secure the emancipation of individuals from institutions. The men who brought democracy to this country were rebels, first against the church and then against the English state, because these institutions were limiting their freedom and development. Then history repeated itself and in their lifetime, those same men who had rebelled against the autocratic control of the English church and state over the conscience of men, exercised on these shores the same despotic control over persons who disagreed with them, simply because they thought that their kind of institution was superior to all others, that it was immutable, and that all within its reach ought to be controlled by it.

The same feeling exists strongly to-day regarding the forms of political democracy, and forms must always be distinguished from principles. Principles compel allegiance for their worth, but forms deserve authority only to the degree that they embody and apply the principles which they were created to express. Because of the fact that institutions in which principles essential to the development of personality are embodied always sooner or later attempt to subordinate personality to themselves as institutions, the development of democracy is a process of the continued emancipation and expansion of personality. On the one hand it enlarges personality by continually extending the control of all individuals over the functions of the state, on the other hand it progressively emancipates personality by the continued overthrow of

repressive institutions. The recent overthrow of imperial government is the final adventure of democracy in the political field, but it has yet to join issue with the imperial principle in economic affairs. There is ground of hope, however, that it may yet achieve the emancipation of personality in economic arrangements, because of its experience with chattel slavery. Chattel slavery went from the British Empire and from this continent because free men saw that it was repressive of the personality of other men. It was not overturned by the black men who suffered from it, but by white men with an ideal of human life which would not permit them to endure that men of any color should be held back from social development. That changing economic conditions helped to develop this ideal is not a denial of the growing power of the democratic concept of personality, but simply a partial explanation of its origin and sources of nourishment.

Now comes the turn of other repressive institutions. Whenever any social institution permits one group of people to limit the personality of another group, it has reached the beginning of its decadent period; its death warrant is shortly to be drawn though the execution may be long delayed. So general is the conviction of the worth of the democratic principle today that one test of the vitality of the institutions of government and religion, education and industry, is whether they permit one part of the people to develop at the expense of another part.

There is another test, and it is particularly a test for institutions which are democratic to the extent that they have repudiated the principle of the control of one group by another. It is this: to what extent do they, as institutions, limit the personality of those who belong to them? If they are democratic they are voluntary. We boast of a free state and a free church. Our government is supposed to exist and continue because people have chosen it or consented to it. If we belong

to a church, it is supposed to be because we have elected to belong to it, though usually it is because we are born in it. If we participate in a form of industrial organization, it is assumed to be because as free people we consent to that kind of organization. This popular assumption rests upon the sound principle that democratic forms of association express and embody personality asserting itself in free choices. All institutions at first embody some vital principle. In their beginnings they have the missionary fervor and the propaganda spirit. When they become inherited institutions their original principle is not so vital to those who received it as a sacred bequest as it was to the men who first conceived it. It is now to be guarded rather than advanced. Gradually the institutions become more formal, more engrossed in the mere mechanics of routine, their tendency is increasingly to consume a larger part of the energy of their members in keeping the wheels turning and an ever smaller part in the extension and propagation of the vital principle for whose development the machinery was created.

This is the inherent depravity of institutions. Originating as dynamic expressions of great principles, they tend to become static, then conservative and at last reactionary. They finally develop adherents who care more for the institution than for humanity at large, or even for the principle which the institution was supposed to embody; who will sacrifice themselves to the institution without stint, but who are not willing to sacrifice that institution in any degree, either to the good of humanity or to the interests of the principle around which it was organized. In this country just now many people are fearful that the institutions of democracy are in danger of being changed; yet many of those same people who profess to be trying to serve and defend democratic institutions are every day denying the very fundamental principle of democracy by refusing the right of assembly and discussion to those

who advocate change. If the principle of democracy were more important to these people than its institutions, they would not be attempting to repress all critical discussion of those institutions. The tendency, in state and church, is for the institution to reach the point where it demands not only complete loyalty, but even renunciation of its own principle from its adherents. Made to serve men it finally masters them, and in that stage of decay democratic institutions become the instruments of autocracy. They permit again a few people, through them, to control the rest. The price of preserving the institution at the expense of the principle is the destruction of the principle.

How then can personality emancipate itself from bondage to institutions? How can men prevent even those institutions of their own making and choosing from repressing personality? How can their value as means for the expression and enlargement of individuals be preserved? It is the perpetual problem of human organization and the only solution appears to be continual criticism, perpetual protest and recurrent reorganization. When an institution reaches a certain point in size or force, it would seem to be necessary for a break to occur and for other institutions to arise, developing a new expression of the fundamental principle inherent in the older organization. That is the way of progress, by constant change if need be. That was a very hard thing to do in primitive society; the penalty was ostracism or death. It is not much easier to do in a more advanced society; the penalty, though more refined, is not much lighter. The man who is a heretic or a rebel in education or religion or government, even the man who finds it necessary to criticise the party that he has always belonged to, or the church in which he has always lived, is not likely to find it an enjoyable proceeding. The world will move a little faster when institutions are conceived simply as the embodiment and expression of personality and

principles, when it is more generally recognized that they must be changed as soon as they begin to limit personality and distort principles.

Of course institutions ought to be reverenced in so far as they serve to develop persons, and so make for the progress of society. They have a right to loyalty in the proportion to which they do these things. But the test must always be the extent to which they serve the life of all the people and not simply the degree to which they benefit those who belong to them. We ought not to wait to criticise our institutions until they begin to limit us, we ought to criticise them whenever it appears to us that they are in any degree limiting the development of personality anywhere. In other words, our institutions must be always a means and not ever an end; and they must always be a means to the general good, not merely to the good of a few. If they are the means to develop the social whole, they will then be an instrument for the development of the personality of those who compose them, giving these persons their proper social expression and function. The principle is this then, that men must serve institutions only in order that institutions may serve men. Personality must ever maintain itself supreme over the machinery it has created, lest in these latter days, imagining itself free from all false gods, it may unknowingly bind itself once again in utter bondage to the work of its own hands.

If institutions are to be tested by what they do to persons, if they exist for people and not people for them, then a state that permits a privileged few to live off the people is like some great Minotaur devouring their lives, it is a state against which the people must rebel. The state does that when it is the organization of a military autocracy; it equally does it when it is the organization of an economic autocracy. This generation has concluded that the autocratic state, demanding the sacrifice of the people, putting itself beyond morals and

above God, is an outrageous blasphemy against human personality. But what about the tyranny of a majority in the democratic state? Should it repress and coerce dissenters? May not that too, become such a repression of personality as to be a violation of the individual and therefore an offense against the common good? If there is one thing above any other which the English people have contributed to the progress of humanity, it is their tradition of respect and reverence for individual rights, for the sacredness of persons, even of the meanest and lowest. It is the tradition of the English state that their voice may be heard, their rights and liberties protected. But that tradition is in danger, in the development of democracy. It is in danger in the increase of our social organization. The spirit of democracy may be threatened by mere bureaucratic routine. The state may become such a great cumbersome machine that persons are tied to the wheels, even ground up in it. The democratic state, even under the development of economic democracy, may become nothing but bureaucratic industrialism in which, in rigidly ordered routine, the people go through their monotonous lives. The problem is to make coöperation increase freedom. It is the province of democracy to enlarge personality. This is accomplished only when the people voluntarily give their best endeavor to the collective life. Such a condition is not yet even approximately approached in our industrial civilization. The test for the church and for educational organization, just as much as for industry is whether it is leading the people into a larger life through its machinery or merely driving them into a lock step treadmill of routine. If the other social institutions are to fully promote personality, it is necessary for the institutions of education and religion to show the way. Those who operate them must see that they are given a continuous opportunity for the expression and development of their personality, that they do not become mere routine workers going

through the same mechanical operations day after day like those who attend an automatic machine in a factory. They must see to it that these institutions reverence human life as a whole and that all their operations tend to develop human life as a whole. The meaning and value of church and state and school can be seen and measured in the last and lowest child within the sphere of their influence. By what they do to it; by whether they leave it neglected and dirty, weak and uneducated, or whether they give it care and protection and continuous unfolding, do they stand judged. This is the final test.

The urgent consideration for an industrial civilization is that personality must not be sacrificed to property, for in an industrial order, property becomes the major interest and increasingly determines the character and course of all the associations and institutions of life. In these days personality has to assert itself most of all in the conflict with property. Our forefathers fought against institutions, both church and state, and well they fought for human freedom. Our fight is mainly against property, but not against property for its own sake, only in so far as it limits personality. The task before us is to establish the supremacy of personality in a civilization that is largely given over to materialism. The present order is a machine order and has produced a mechanistic mode of thought which has overlooked some of the essential factors and problems of life. The nineteenth century has been called the wonderful century because of its discoveries and inventions, but it left us the same social evils that troubled Babylon and Nineveh. Because it centered human energy upon the production and acquisition of material wealth, because, as Bertrand Russell has pointed out, it enlarged the possessive at the expense of the creative instinct, it raised in more crucial form than ever the old question of the choice between God and Mammon. With all its gains in knowledge,

its social organization predominantly expressed a philosophy of life which has no outlook and no outreach beyond the things of time and space. It failed to organize civilization around the infinite, measureless possibilities of human life.

The question which man has to face to-day is whether in his great industrial civilization, he has made first a machine to enslave him and then a God to devour him. The plain fact that property enslaves people is every day to be seen. It enslaves both those who have it and those who have it not, and it is an open question which of them are more thrown into bondage by the increased concentration of property ownership. Property is to-day the goal of the strong and its possession is the sign of power. In the old order, property in land went to the strong in arms; in the modern order, property in capital goes to the strong of brain. On the one hand are many wage slaves, and the phrase is not rhetorical, held in bondage to the institution of property; on the other hand the owners of that property are also bound in chains, almost as strong, to the things which they own. The struggle for "these things," land in the old order and capital in the new, is not for property's sake, but for the sake of the domination over others that property gives. The miser is a rare bird, the capitalist a numerous species. The acquisitive instinct becomes socially dangerous as it is allied with and strengthens the instinct for dominance, which finally becomes a more consuming God than the passion to hoard. Man becomes a predatory being, not for the sake of gorging upon the possessions of others, nor to wantonly destroy them, but in order to exert control over others. Competitive industrialism is a struggle for power just as was militarism and is therefore likely to renew that ancient evil. Not long ago I picked up a labor paper, an individual paper representing no large movement, setting forth the fallacy that labor must follow

no vision but stick to reality, and therefore must seek things and power and not ideals. Such an expression is but the echo of the dominant spirit of commercialism. Property privileges and power go together, always. Democracy values folks; its social standards are different from the standards of aristocracy or plutocracy, but what does property do to democracy? There are some people of great wealth who are fundamentally democrats. Are they the exception or the rule? In the subway the other day a friend pointed to another man who was hanging onto a strap. "Do you see that man?" said he, "Well, he is a multi-millionaire." But how many people of wealth ever travel with the crowd? One of the professors of Harvard Law School said recently that the greatest advance in recent years was the transfer of value from the field of property to the field of human relations. This is to be seen in the social legislation that tries to put people above property, that endeavors to prevent the sacrifice of the health and well-being of the workers in the interests of wealth-production. We did conscript wealth in war time, but not to the same extent as life. There were men who would willingly let their sons go to the front but who would not part with their last dollar for the war. It was an exceptional man who said, "I would rather lose millions in Mexico than have one United States soldier die to save them for me."

It is some years ago now since the present president of Yale said that either property rights must give way to human rights in this country or there would be revolution. The time is now ripe. The industrial nations are now faced with the necessity of determining the comparative value of property rights and human rights. The effort to put property in its proper place in life is the center of the struggle for economic democracy. There is more to it than a conflict between the classes. The determination of the people to secure a distribution of economic power, increasingly expressing itself in the

attempt to secure common ownership and control of the sources of wealth, does not go to the heart of the matter. Under any form of economic administration the question is the comparative value of property and personality, which is the end and which the means. At once two ideals and types of civilization are in conflict. That which now dominates is the old aristocratic order gradually developed into an order of property and contract by Roman law and organization, which have formed a large part of the judicial framework of Great Britain and the United States, in part for the protection of common rights but largely for the maintenance of power and privilege through the justification and sanctification of property rights.

There is another ideal of civilization which never got expression in wide organization; it is contained in the teachings of the Hebrew law, the prophets and Jesus. Their ideal was to form a community life in which human rights were set above property rights, and property was made subordinate to the development of personality. The day has now come for the widespread organization of that scale of values. Mankind is about to value the creator of social values above the possessor, and to organize that valuation into social arrangements. The principles which the Hebrews have taken with them all over the earth, which the Christian teaching in its true form has still further developed, are sooner or later going to get a world-wide expression. That will be some compensation to those who have long been scattered abroad and persecuted and yet have remained faithful.

The western world is about to make important changes in the institution of human property in order to secure a larger measure of freedom for all the people. The changes must go deeper than a wider distribution of income and a democratic control of the sources of income, both of which are needed for the enlargement of personality. They must

rest upon the social control of the acquisitive instinct, for the failure to control this instinct, and not any external system or class is the real cause of the subordination of the people to property interests. What is needed is a true conception of the relation of property to personality. It is perfectly possible, in emancipating the working class in one form from the institution of property to enslave them to it in another, as the property class is now enslaved. From the bondage of improper production they may pass to the bondage of improper consumption. Mankind has yet to learn how to make property the servant and not the master of life. The beginning of the lesson is the fundamental principle that things are to be sought not for their own sake, not for self-gratification and power over others, but for common use and service. The problem of controlling the acquisitive instinct is to be solved by devising those measures which shall express the principle: "property for use and not for power." When production is organized for this purpose, and distribution democratically controlled to this end, then property in its creation will express personality and in its possession will develop personality, both individually and socially. Not until we accept this principle of common use and service, with whatever modifications are necessary to protect individuality, do things become the means to the development of personality. An economic order exists to produce wealth not for wealth's sake, but for the upbuilding of the people. To that end, and in whatever forms will best promote it, wealth production and wealth ownership and distribution must be socialized; they must be carried on for the common good. When they are carried on for the individual good their effect is always to break down and finally overthrow the standard of the supremacy of personality. But when they are safeguarded by common control for the common purpose, society comes to value creation above acquisition, the economic machinery is

adjusted to produce life, and goods only as they increase life. Then the increase of personality becomes the supreme objective of social organization while property falls into its proper place as the base upon which man stands to derive from it the nourishment for his spiritual development.

CHAPTER VI

SOLIDARITY

As we have seen before, the one thing most clearly apparent about the form of the new order is that it must be a world order; that it must in an increasing degree represent and express and associate the whole of humanity. If the present very slight step in that direction proposed in Paris should fail, humanity would still strive on continually until there was some organized form of common action, for the simple reason that we can no longer live apart. Those gentlemen in the United States Senate who want us to take our little dolls and go home and play in our own back yard are absolutely oblivious of the kind of world in which they are now living. How many more world wars must they help to fight before they will understand that any little event in the Balkans becomes immediately the vital concern of folks out on our western prairies? How many more world conflagrations do they have to watch before they understand that there is no safety for any until there is safety for all? That much at least concerning world solidarity ought to have been learned in the kindergarten department of modern training for citizenship, to say nothing of training for office.

The consequences in Europe of the lack of some world organization ought by now to be plain. During the war it was a common rhetorical affirmation that the world was suffering this agony because it had not properly organized its affairs, but had permitted chaos in matters of common concern. Yet after all that, international anarchy is spreading on every hand in Europe, with wars and rumors of wars, while the statesmen

are wrangling over the form of common control. Behind the desire for a world organization of humanity, there is something more than the necessity of the present hour. The present situation drives us imperatively in that direction, but there is something more than a momentary need or a sudden impulse behind the desire to realize the solidarity of mankind in some organized expression. It gives voice and plan to some permanent elements in human life. There is first of all a great historic ideal which has been slowly developing. The old empire builders dreamed of amalgamating mankind in one subject organization over which their military might would hold sway. But even while they were driving humanity to battle in pursuit of that ambition, the common people were beginning to dream of a world fellowship, of a democratic union of the human family. This dream, lying silent in the heart of the common people, broke again and again into speech long before our modern poets began to sing of the parliament of man and the federation of the world. The seers and the prophets of many peoples in many times have continually voiced, in greater or less clearness, the ideal of the unity of the human family in a common brotherhood. In the modern world, this idea has been voiced and partially organized in two great movements, religion and labor.

In religion it has long been a recognized truth that spiritual values are to be found in human fellowship; that comradeship constitutes one of the essential aspects of the religious life. It is evident that human fellowship develops faith, loyalty, service and sacrifice—some of the greatest qualities of religion. It is also plain that the wider the association, the more worth and content do these qualities acquire. The wider the bond of a man's fellowship, the deeper it usually cuts into his life. The fullest expression of this aspect of religion is in the term, "the brotherhood of man," without any limitation, which carries with it a certain concept of God. The phrase "The

Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God" is one and indivisible, connoting two aspects of one reality; and "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder." This phrase expresses the biggest idea which the human mind can get hold of, the greatest ideal that the human spirit can strive after, the loftiest and widest fellowship of which men are capable.

This concept of the comradeship of all men with each other and with the Great Companion is the culmination of the social exposition of religion, which gradually unfolds the ideal of a unified world life of development and mutual service for the peoples of the earth. It was expressed in some degree by certain of the great philosophers of Greece and Rome. It found voice on the lips of one of them who declared, "nothing human is foreign to me"; thereby recognizing his kinship with all of humanity, and also at the same time glimpsing the truth that the highest realization of the individual personality is to be found only in the widest and fullest development for all humanity. The man to whom all other human beings are kin, has a much wider, deeper and higher life than one whose fellowships are circumscribed in a small circle. It is only as we break through first the natural and then the artificial barriers of nationality, class and race, that we really come to the largest expression of our own personality. We never know what our individuality may properly be until we have found our relationships to all mankind.

This concept of a religious fellowship as wide and as lasting as the universe has been a slow historic growth. Religion begins in its family form and then takes its tribal and later its national expression. Man has first his family gods, then his tribal deities, whose blessing and protection is limited to the members of the family or the tribe. Then he conceives his national gods, whose only concern with the alien and the enemy is one of curse and destruction. It is only by a long

process of development that mankind finally achieves a religion which includes all human fellowship, comes to believe in a God "who hath made of one blood all the peoples of the earth," who is the Father of all mankind.

The clearest development of that concept is in the history of the Hebrew people and perhaps it there occurs because their national consciousness originated in an experience of oppression by an imperial power. They were slaves in Egypt, and their national life and religion grew out of their emancipation from bondage. It is not strange, therefore, to find that soon thereafter, they began to recognize the needs and rights of the stranger within their own gates and to develop a kindly feeling for the slave, both native and alien, and that their religion developed into something more than a national cult. One of their great prophets, Isaiah, pictures God's house on the top of a mountain and all the peoples coming into it; he even sees the great military oppressors of his people finally entering into that fellowship. When Jesus came fulfilling the law and the prophets, he fell heir to this great vision. At first he was circumscribed in his fellowships by the prejudices of his times. He began like any other Rabbi, with certain limitations for the circle of his disciples. But gradually he broke through the artificial social barriers of his day. One after another he opened his teaching to the women with whom no other Rabbi would be seen conversing in public; the renegade publicans to whom no orthodox teacher would speak; the despised Samaritans who were ostracized by all good Jews; and finally the Gentiles, hated alike by Judea and Galilee, who could agree upon little else.

So Jesus gradually outgrew all the social prejudices and limitations of his generation, and finally announced himself to be the Son of Man, declared "they shall come from the East and the West into my Kingdom," proclaimed his God to be one whose sun shines alike on the evil and on the good,

whose rain falls alike on the just and the unjust, whose love ever goes out seeking those who are lost. As the moral corollary of this capacity of God to hold relationship with all men, even with evil doers, Jesus in his loftiest ethical precept urges his followers to love even their enemies. So clearly did Jesus teach the solidarity of human fellowship, that the men who set forth to carry his teaching throughout the Roman world gradually had their religious and racial and class prejudices stripped from them. Peter, who hated the Gentiles with all the intensity of his fiery spirit, had to learn that there was "nothing common or unclean," that no people were to be shut out from the ministering fellowship of his religion. Paul, proud Pharisee of the Pharisees and free citizen of Rome, inheritor of a twofold class consciousness of a strength unsurpassed in history, came to understand not only that all the peoples of the earth had been made of one blood but that there can be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male or female, but all are one in Christ Jesus. Thus were the social barriers of the Roman Empire and the prejudices of rabinical religion uprooted from the minds of these men, so that finally they went out to find fellowship, if they could, with all people. The culmination of the record of their work is a vision of a great city, open on four sides to all quarters of the horizon, so that all the nations of the earth could bring their honor and their glory into its great fellowship, from which the evils that cursed the Roman Empire were cast out, and men dwelt with each other and God dwelt with them in all high fellowship of purity and truth, righteousness and love.

This concept of a world fellowship has constituted the heart of the missionary ideal of modern Christianity. It will be well then for the churches constantly to analyze their missionary work, its motives and plans, in the light of this fundamental concept. Does it in any degree partake of the spirit of Mohammed, who desired that all peoples should be

subdued by the conquering faith and made to conform to it? Or is it a disinterested attempt to share whatever benefits are enjoyed by western Christians with those who do not yet have them? Is it an attempt at spiritual democracy, an effort to realize the democratic solidarity of mankind, or does it seek the imperialistic solidarity of an overhead religious control? The extensive missionary activity of modern churches is socially valuable in so far as it is an attempt not to get people to accept dogmas and join organizations, but to spread faith, hope and love, the spiritual foundations of society, and by practical efforts to raise the level of life throughout the human family. It finally involves and promotes a political and economic as well as a religious fellowship. Consequently, the missionary ideal, democratically conceived and carried out, makes for the solidarity of mankind. One of its implications and consequences is the organic unity of the race. The contribution of modern Christianity to social progress will depend upon its fidelity to the concept of brotherhood that moved the first preachers of its gospel. It cannot save the world by merely getting men to feel that it will be well with them hereafter. Indeed it may in that way contribute very effectively to the damnation of the world. The gospel of Jesus is the power of God unto salvation for the world life to the degree that it removes the class and national and racial antagonisms that are now driving the race to destruction, to the degree that it can help men to repent and get rid of the sins that cause these antagonisms and in the reconciliation of mutual service and sacrifice develop a brotherly life throughout the earth.

The ideal of solidarity has also been developing among the working class in its various organized movements. Naturally they are concerned with the economic content of the ideal. As the working class comes to responsibility and power in society, it brings with it some significant changes in social value. The working class has been used to toil and not to

possess, and consequently democratic society, which gives the workers a larger degree of control than they have before had, will assign higher rank to productive energy than to property. This change in value will exert a large influence in securing the supremacy of personality in human organization. It will also enlarge and strengthen the bonds of fellowship, because of the fact, which is a matter of common observation, that possessions tend to separate folk while creative toil tends to unite them. It can be seen in the history of many a family before and after the attainment of opulence. It can be seen by comparing the life of the workers of the Guild period in England with that of the workers in the United States in the early period of its economic development. Bertrand Russell has again put this generation in his debt by showing how the possessive instincts divide and the creative instincts unite humanity.

As long as the workers are primarily creators and not money makers, as long as they seek first production, the tendency of their seeking will be unity; they will be brought together in a common effort toward a common goal. But just as soon as individuals or as classes they begin to seek to possess the things that they create more than they seek to create those things, they will be divided among themselves. It is the hope of the world in its present desperate situation that the vision and capacity for fellowship may yet be strong among the workers, because they have long been engaged upon production even though a commercialized industrialism has done its best to destroy the creative instinct. As a matter of fact that is exactly the case. With all due reckoning of the missionary propaganda of the churches, nowhere in our modern life has the ideal of solidarity been preached so vigorously and proclaimed so widely as in the working class movement. Certainly in no other circles has so much been done to make it a fact. Trade Union Congresses are international

in character and scope and socialists are organized in the International for the purpose of developing a common program. The Red Flag, which is now so abhorred and persecuted is the symbol of solidarity, in its color representing the common blood of all peoples, it expresses the hope of a common life. The flag of anarchy is black, the color of despair. Sometimes the Red Flag represents an ideal of solidarity which unduly discounts the fact of nationality, but more often it represents a concept of a world family of which individual nations are members, just as the separate states of this nation are loyal members of the United States. In either event, legislation to suppress its use is as senseless as it will prove futile. There are a thousand ways of symbolizing a repressed cause with increasing power and passion, as Ireland has shown England; and if the growing world fellowship is to find form in a permanent organic life, it will have to have some symbol around which the loyalty of the respective nations can gather. To cherish such an emblem will not lessen loyalty to one's own flag and country. On the contrary it will make that loyalty altogether more vital as it gives it the meaning of service to the common world life and not the meaning of selfish aggrandizement.

It was because of their long education concerning the ideal and necessity of solidarity that socialists in all countries, even in Germany, were troubled and perplexed as to their duty during the war. Because they believed so deeply in the unity of the working people of the world, the war was to them the sundering of the common body of humanity. Apparently it caused a deeper stirring and even revolt of conscience among the socialists than among the churches which proclaimed and sought the spiritual unity of humanity. At least the socialists made more effort to get together in war time their leaders in the belligerent countries to see if a common understanding could be reached, than the churches did to get together for the same purpose those who had accepted the commission to

preach the gospel of the Prince of Peace. This is not the first time that the socialists have taken their faith seriously. Some years ago when Norway and Sweden were in danger of war, it was the socialists of both countries that prevented mobilization. When Japan and Russia were fighting, the socialists of Russia sent greetings to the workers in Japan. The English socialists sent fraternal appeals to the Germans at the beginning of this war, as did the socialists of Russia. During the war there were several attempts to get together a conference of delegates of the working people, which were prevented by the respective governments. When the Russian workers overthrew their own imperialism, their belief that the German workers would yet prove to be brothers of mankind was the kind of faith that ought to move mountains. A recent report says that two regiments of French soldiers in Siberia refused to fight against the Russians because, they said, they did not go to war to fight against their brothers and their comrades. Asked if they did not know that their refusal to fight was a court-martial offense, punishable with death, they replied that they could not change because of that.

The ideal of world fellowship which has been constantly preached throughout the ranks of labor is of a different sort than that which finds expression in the present covenant of the League of Nations. An international conference of socialists met at Berne while the Paris conference was in session. There was a fundamental difference of approach to the world situation. The Paris conference approached the situation from the standpoint of separate sovereign states who have more or less conflicting interests and always must have. Its attempt therefore was to adjust the differences between the separate entities by some arrangement which will enable them to get along with the least possible danger of war. The Berne conference on the other hand, approached the world situation from the standpoint of the unity of all peoples, with the con-

cept of the spiritual and economic solidarity of humanity. Its attempt therefore was to organize that underlying unity into some form of expression to meet the common needs and develop the common capacities. Yet this gathering too was troubled by the spirit of nationalism.

The socialists who put more emphasis upon economic than upon political reorganization emphasize even more strongly the ideal of solidarity. They are now calling themselves communists in Russia and in Hungary; in this country and elsewhere, "left wing socialists"; and the European syndicalists and the American I. W. W.'s really belong in this general classification. They differ radically among themselves and violently with the more conservative political-action socialists, but these various belligerents are all united when it comes to the belief in the necessity and desirability of achieving a world wide, working fellowship of all peoples. The differences are as to the method and manner of this fellowship. The more radical groups who make a tactic as well as a dogma out of the class struggle, even those who advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat to be set up and maintained temporarily by force of arms, nevertheless do so in the name of universal brotherhood, asserting it to be the only way to abolish present class divisions and achieve the solidarity of society and eventually of the race. Since the same ideal of a world wide brotherhood animates both the propaganda of the labor movement and of organized Christianity, there would seem to be good reason for their leaders to compare the different interpretations of the ideal given by their respective movements and consider together what measures for its realization may be commonly supported. The labor movement is interested in the economic, and the church in the spiritual aspects of solidarity. The synthesis of these two aspects of the one ideal needs to be established. Unless it discovers the economic expression of its ideal of brotherhood the church will fail to

give reality to the spiritual life; unless it develops the spiritual values of economic coöperation, the labor movement will be unable to keep the breath of life in its attempt at solidarity. It is only as they are true to their vision of universal fellowship that either of these movements can lead humanity forward. If either of them becomes a class movement, it can only curse the world with additional conflict.

Besides having behind it an historical ideal, the present emphasis on the solidarity of mankind has in it the tremendous fact that humanity does increasingly grow together. Indeed one of the reasons for the situation in which the nations now find themselves is that there is a degree of economic unity in the life of mankind which is not yet recognized in the plans of the statesmen. We have already seen that the story of social evolution is the extension of the capacity for associated action. To compare the organization of modern society with that of a primitive community is like comparing a modern automatic machine, that can do everything but talk, with the stone axe of the stone age. What has happened is more than machinery of organization, it is the growth of a body, the organic development of the life of humanity with increasing powers of common thought and action, gradually forming a common mind and conscience and will. The outer form always moves a little behind the inner fact, and the inner fact is a growing solidarity. As we now look back over the history of mankind, it is evident that the path we have traveled from the individualism of our savage ancestors to our modern international organization is a good deal longer than the path that we need now to travel to reach a form of world life that shall express the economic and spiritual solidarity of the human race.

The trend towards unity of life throughout the world is manifest in an increasing economic interdependence. During the war it became glaringly apparent that no nation was suffi-

cient unto itself for its economic life, and the efforts at peace are still further emphasizing that fundamental fact. The writers of the treaty at Paris have been perplexed to find a way to assess economic penalties upon Germany and avoid economic damage to the victors. Mr. Henry Ford said that he discovered a fundamental business principle in his early days; it was that if you help one you help all and if you hurt one you hurt all, that business therefore could not succeed by the process of hurting competitors. That is an international truth. It was discovered by working people long before Mr. Ford stumbled upon it. The slogan of one of the most aggressive labor organizations in this country is "an injury to one is an injury to all." And it would be better for the world if some of our statesmen had learned that fact, because they will be taught it in a somewhat unpleasant manner if they persist in trying to organize our international relations on the thesis that we can be economically sufficient unto ourselves or that we can penalize other peoples in our economic relations to our own ultimate profit.

It is quite evident that the adequate development of any nation depends upon its access to the common labor power and resources of the whole world, upon its participation in the interdependent economic life of mankind. Not only is the economic need interdependent, but the administration of the economic life becomes increasingly common. Science has made that inevitable. There is only one best way to develop and distribute wealth and that best way must in the shortest possible time be commonly used. The technical processes that are discovered in one country must become available to all countries. As a matter of fact, an economic war between nations which is designed to protect one nation at the expense of others is really self-mutilation and if it be carried to the extreme becomes suicide. The primary economic needs,—food, clothes and shelter—are the common needs of

mankind; the development of the intellectual and æsthetic life that economic activity makes possible, after it has satisfied the primary needs, is also a common desire of mankind; and if humanity could only look at this common necessity as the family looks at it, endeavoring jointly to provide these things for all peoples in a common undertaking, as the family does for its children, the common toil would become a spiritual fellowship.

The other constituent element in the growing solidarity of mankind is that of spiritual interdependence; and as our economic interdependence becomes greater with the development of science and its application to the economic life, so our spiritual interdependence becomes more marked with the development of education. It is a commonplace that the world has to-day a unified intellectual life as one of the results of the scientific method. It is a truism that science has but one language, that her discoveries are common property, and that education is increasingly international in its progress. But perhaps the deepest element in our spiritual interdependence is the common sense of need. That the great needs of mankind have always been shared is to us an elementary fact, but the common sense of need is a slow growth which is only now bearing fruit. To-day all the communities of mankind are only just becoming aware of the fact that they have the same fundamental problems, roughly speaking the problems of hunger, education and justice, and that the community organization has to find an answer of some sort or other to these fundamental questions. There are the same social sins, the same social blunders the world over, appearing at different stages of development. The recognition of this fact is one aspect of the dawning spiritual self-consciousness of the race. The common effort to meet the commonly recognized needs develops still further the sense of spiritual unity, as it increases the qualities of faith, loyalty, service and sacrifice. The com-

mon need of the toilers, suddenly perceived, drives them together in the passionate solidarity of a tempestuous strike. The intelligent understanding of the causes of that need and the sustained effort to remove them from the common life, develops a world-wide movement whose slowly forming bonds will in the end prove able to resist the disintegration of self-interest.

The degree of solidarity to be achieved, either of the labor movement or organized religion or both together, depends upon their ability to develop among all men the awareness of common need. To exert its utmost power of binding men together in common feeling and action, this common consciousness must reach down to the elemental faults of humanity, it must be a common consciousness of sin. No new life without repentance is a religious axiom. It is time for the new world order. At present there is too much desire to find a scapegoat to bear the burden of sins that are common—the Germans, the Big Four at Paris, the capitalists, the working-class agitators—according to the point of view. But the woe of the world is not to be removed until together mankind faces the nature as well as the consequences of lust and greed and power. Then the ancient truth that "all have sinned" will get a new meaning as the manner in which the universal instincts of sex, acquisition, combat and mastery have been developed into destructive social forces becomes apparent. Then out of a common repentance, a larger faith, a new hope, a stronger love will bind the world together in a unity of endeavor to develop the possibilities of life.

To get an estimate of the welding power of the common sense of need, take a great calamity like the theater fire in Chicago when several hundred people were burned, and see how the sudden shock of common bereavement will, for a brief period of time, break through the divisions of our class and race, the common sense of loss will momentarily weld the

people in a bond of sympathy. The same welding process is developed in less obvious fashion as the community takes common action together to meet its common needs. It is such common action together with the common process of education that develops community solidarity and makes it a recognized fact. This is also true for the world community as social reform becomes increasingly international and not only attempts to meet the same social needs all over the world but to do it in the same manner. The methods, for example, of repressing commercialized vice or of labor legislation, increasingly fall into the same codes the world over. The striking evidence of solidarity increases as social action is aimed at larger ends. The plans for repairing the social damage wrought by the war are almost identical. The programmes of social reconstruction now considered in different countries show a marked similarity. With infinite variety of application to express the temperament and genius of different strains of blood and different environments, the same general principles will guide the future development of all peoples. Humanity is finding itself. To this growing organism of the intellectual, ethical and spiritual life of the world, all members of the family of nations, the youngest as well as the oldest brings some glory and honor. Whoever expected during the Boer war, or before it, that out of South Africa would come a plan for a League of Nations to be considered by the elder statesmen of the larger powers desirous of making a covenant. As a matter of fact there is no nation so small but what it may have vast significance for the future, as increasingly mankind endeavors together to meet the common needs. There is no Nazareth so despised but out of it there may come some force of redemption for humanity.

It is evident then that if there is to be the fullest possible expansion of life, either for the world or for any part of the world, there must be the coördination of all its economic

forces, of all its intellectual powers and all its spiritual capacities. They must increasingly be joined together in a common programme. It is a commonplace among us that we are wasting untold human resources in the slums of our great cities. They never will be developed until we get more solidarity into our community life and all of us together attack the situation. The same thing is true about the undeveloped peoples. Who knows what progress is being lost to all the world because those peoples remain undeveloped? This possible progress will remain unrealized until the nations are willing to consider together the needs of the common life, instead of their own advantage. As long as they are intent on saving their own life, they will continually lose it.

The desire for solidarity and the effort to attain it, has to reckon with the divisive forces that are so powerful in human nature and so effective in human society. Along with the passion for brotherhood is the desire for mastery, along with the spirit of equality is the longing for luxury and privilege. The process of social development has been a process of subordinating the separative elements in human life and giving power to its cohesive elements. This has not been done without a severe and constant struggle, for the selfish, disruptive part of human nature continually organizes itself into powerful institutions. At present it faces the movement for solidarity behind the barriers of class cleavage, nationalism and race prejudice.

It is a fact needing neither elaboration nor argument that our modern industrial system is constantly driving an iron wedge through the center of society, separating the "haves and the have nots," or to be more exact, those who have sufficient to count in the control of society and to share in its larger privileges, and those who do not. That some members of these two sides occasionally change places does not affect the fact that the two sides are constant and that their interests

conflict. One side necessarily desires to maintain the status quo and the other to change it. All exhortations to co-operation between the classes that blink this fact are mere idle words, in more senses than one. They are indeed a modern adaptation of the exhortation of the old prayer book to all people to do their duty in "that station in life to which it had pleased God to call them." That was written by those who had a station in life in which they were well pleased to remain and to assume that it was pleasing to God. And in order that they might remain there they naturally desired to use the influence of their God to keep others in a station with which these others were not likely to be well pleased. Our democratic objection to such doctrine does not change the fact that in this country many people will live and die in the same station in which they were born (a station with which most of us are not pleased) unless changes proceed more rapidly than they are now likely to proceed. In such a situation in other days it was also the function of religion to teach these people to do their duty "to their betters." Such a naked use of religion for class ends rather shocks Americans who insist that there are no classes. They prefer to advocate universal military training in order that "the people" may "learn obedience." Obedience to the national law and the national duty, or obedience to the class which desires to maintain its privileges, is the question which "the people" promptly raise; and some of them even want to know to what extent these apparently two things may happen to be or turn out to be one and the same thing.

So increasingly there is evidence here of class consciousness and class divisions. Religion and education both sincerely preach and practice a class-less democracy in this country to a large extent. There are constantly gathered together in the schoolroom and church people of all sorts and conditions. Within those circles a certain degree of solidarity exists, and

a growing class cleavage in this country is to that extent hindered, also forces are thereby set in motion that will help to remove its roots. But does the solidarity of the schoolroom or the church extend beyond their doors? Does the contact and the common atmosphere continue outside? It is a fact that even the Roman Catholic Church, which has long been the great examplar of the democracy of religion, gathering in the same house of worship rich and poor alike, learned and ignorant, is being compelled by class cleavage in this country to build churches in suburban neighborhoods in which there are few if any poor people. The theory of the class war as a means to a new order in which no classes shall exist to defeat the passion for brotherhood is being met in this country as it needs to be met by argument, on intellectual and ethical grounds, but meantime the fact of the class struggle proceeds to develop apace. The " functions " of so-called society are as loud a proclamation of class consciousness as any socialist soap-box speaker can possibly make. The proclamations of the American Defense Society concerning social unrest, the general applause or tacit sanction of illegal acts against socialists, proposed laws to prevent discussion of social change, are all declarations of class war, just the same as a general strike or the advocacy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Let the class struggle proceed to a certain point and class war is inevitable, despite all preachments about democracy and brotherhood. Therefore those who believe in these ideals had better do more than proclaim them; they had better seek to understand the solid hindrances to their realization in the present social order. Just because the forces of education and religion in this country have stood vigorously against class distinction, it now becomes imperative for them to discover and remove the causes that make for class cleavage.

What then is the origin of classes? The term is used in two senses. It is used socially to distinguish the so-called upper

classes. It is used technically by economists to distinguish various subdivisions of society by certain economic standards, usually of income, which they will variously apply. Historically there have always been three main classes in society since it was organized on the scale that we call civilization; the upper class, the middle class and the lower class. Roughly speaking, these divisions have obtained in every civilization; at the top the people of power, priests, philosophers, warriors, financiers, according to the type of society; in between the people of trade and professional service; underneath the people of common toil with hand or machine. This is the main social stratification. It obtained in Babylon, it obtains in the United States. It has been and is being constantly modified by subdivisions and changes of groups from one section to another and by a continuous extension of privilege throughout all classes. As the middle class, and then the lower, gain in economic and political power they improve their social status.

The class stratification of Europe survived the economic revolution which brought in economic power gradually to replace military power. The aristocracy, that had been formed by military power and sustained by land ownership, simply transferred its powers and privileges gradually to the plutocracy. In the United States the stratification of classes under an industrial civilization can be seen very clearly because it has all more or less happened here in such a short space of time. To begin with there was a democratic concept and fact of social solidarity, modified in the south by a feudal aristocratic tradition and in the north by a cult of religious aristocracy which taught that the good, and that came to be synonymous with the successful in business, acquired by virtue of their character the divine right to rule. The divisions based upon these traditions were maintained by economic power, ownership of the land in the south, in New England of

capital acquired by trading. Thus a social tradition, originating elsewhere, was supported by economic fact, and still survives the loss of the economic base by which it was for a time supported in power. All along the Atlantic seaboard are remnants of families who have seen better days, whose social status has changed because society has changed its nature and their tradition has lost prestige. Nevertheless they still cling to it and bemoan the vulgarity of modern days.

With the opening of the West there came more social solidarity than the Atlantic seaboard had known. The common need bound people together. For a time all men were free and equal in the struggle to overcome and exploit nature. The social traditions of the East and the South lost their meaning and power. There was more of a new start for society, on a more level base, than there had been in New England or Virginia. There was an even opportunity to get land, and immigrants came from the various countries in northern and western Europe. Any family could get sufficient land to provide a livelihood. For a while there was a general level of development, but gradually opportunity narrowed and the strong began to win; they acquired more land by better agriculture and more capital by superior skill in trade; their children therefore got a little better environment and education and so there developed the real aristocracy of America, what in Europe would be the upper middle class, the intellectual leaders of the professions, industry and agriculture. The foundations of the intellectual middle class in this country rest upon the superior economic power of their fathers or grandfathers, and is maintained by their economic ability to exact certain contributions from the workers below, either the tenant farmers or the wage earners of the cities.

This is still more true for that section of our American population which has been permitted to acquire and transmit unlimited wealth. In the first generation it acquires a good

deal of the power, and in succeeding generations the customs, of the ruling class in Europe, and maintains very much the same relation to the people who do the common work of the world. It lives off their labor and considers them its inferiors. As this condition develops, there is no such possibility for the educational and social development of the newer groups of immigrants as for their forerunners, who like them came with practically nothing but their labor power, and finding exceptional economic opportunity used it to create not a social democracy, but a class-divided society like that of the older lands. The process can be seen in miniature in a small factory community. One of the workers is stronger and keener than the rest; he does more work than the others, makes himself more useful to his employer, is made a foreman and gets a better wage. Then his wife dresses better, holds her head a little above the wives of the other wage earners, gives a better education to the children, considers herself, and especially trains the children, to be out of the working class. The social break develops into a conflict of economic interest, as the former wage earner acquires means and enters the capitalist class. It is thus that the conflict between capital and labor, between the investing and wage earning classes develops out of an estrangement of social interests, and finally a stark antagonism of economic interests. Coöperation between these classes can never go beyond a certain point as long as this central conflict of interest remains. Such coöperation can delay but not avert the class struggle as long as it is confined to ameliorating conditions of toil or democratizing conditions of management. It can achieve solidarity of interest only as it develops common ownership. It is the fact of ownership or the lack of it which is at the center of the class conflict. When ownership is made coöperative, the present classes have a common instead of a divided interest and the process of the creation of classes with antagonistic economic interests ceases.

Those whose ideal is solidarity are misleading themselves when they talk about coöperation between the classes unless they mean, and can secure, coöperation to abolish the classes to remove the divided interest in ownership which now creates and maintains them.

It is clear then that class cleavage rests upon an economic power and is maintained by economic means. A change of social status generally speaking, depends upon getting the income to support it. Because we permit society to be organized so that the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong, we make the ability of the strong a divisive force in society instead of the uniting force which it might become. Political democracy has been attempting the impossible in trying to maintain the ideal of a society without classes along with a competitive economic organization. On the one hand the popular exponents of democracy proclaim that democracy knows no classes and on the other hand proclaim it to be the essence of democracy to provide an open opportunity for those who can go from the bottom to the top of society and to maintain them in power when there. All this is done in delightful disregard of the contradiction involved, in blissful ignorance of the fact that what is really advocated is the use of government to maintain and perpetuate the economic process out of which class divisions are formed. If democracy is to avoid class cleavage, it must abandon both the theory and practice of competitive individualism. It must choose as its goal the development of personality and not the acquisition of possessions; it must organize to reach that goal under the principle of universal service. Then the strong, instead of taking the right to rule will accept the obligation to serve; and their ability, instead of becoming the divisive force and the means for forming an idle leisure class, will become a uniting force, leading in the means for the development of the weak.

In the world at large, progress toward solidarity is obstructed

by nationalism and race antagonism. Nationalism is different from nationality. Nationality is a natural fact; nationalism is a cult, mainly artificial. Nationality is no insuperable barrier to the solidarity of the human family, any more than individuality is to the solidarity of the smaller family, but nationalism is an absolute obstacle to the unity of the world life. The facts out of which it grows are isolation with its consequent ignorance, historic injustice between nations, and the conflict of economic interests due to the competitive nature of modern industrialism. As a cult it rests upon the concept of the absolute sovereignty of the state, as a separate and complete entity which can in no degree be limited, which must maintain itself against the interests of all other states, whose dignity, honor and power must be preserved at all costs, no matter who is hurt thereby. This doctrine naturally involves the right of the sovereign state to enlarge itself, formerly in territory but now mostly in economic privilege, because of the assumed superiority of its national culture.

Nationalism among the great powers is now pretty thoroughly commercialized and it is the inevitable conflict between the several commercialized nationalisms, all seeking to secure economic advantage, which is now nullifying the war-time ideals of the democratic peoples and frustrating the attempt to found a family of nations. Aiding in the disruption is the aggressive nationalism of the newly self-determined nations, expressing itself in the more mediæval form of a desire for territory and sovereignty over alien peoples.

Obviously there can be no world-family life until nationalism is eliminated and nationality made to know and keep its proper place as the servant of the common interests of mankind. Such a concept of nationality tends to develop solidarity within the nation, whereas an aggressive nationalism, while it secures a forced unity for a time under the illusion

of the benefits to be derived from it, in the end accentuates class divisions because it turns out to be for the profit and privilege of a limited number. The nation may learn something from the family in this matter. Families having undue sense of their position are not only community nuisances, always a divisive force in community affairs, but they usually manage in the end to split themselves in quarrels arising out of their enlarged sense of self-interest. But the families that carry the traditions and practice of public service are the families that constantly grow together in the solidarity of serving an interest larger than themselves. In like manner the attainment of world unity and national unity are interdependent. One is not likely to proceed much faster than the other. Class-divided nations will maintain a divided world, and conversely, the measure of the desire for a fraternal life within the nation is its willingness to accept the consequences of fraternity between the nations, as it involves both the limitation of the absolute sovereignty of the state and of class privilege and power.

Because of the renaissance of nationalism which the war has brought about through its stimulation of the divisive elements in human nature, the progress of recent years toward the solidarity of mankind will be halted unless the cult of nationalism is vigorously opposed by propaganda for world unity. The concept of the absolute sovereignty of the state needs to be challenged by the concept "above all nations is humanity." The energy that is now being used in this country to belabor those extreme internationalists who over-depreciate nationality had better be spent in trying to prevent the growth of a purely selfish nationalism out of the increased military and economic strength that the war has brought us.

It is true in international relations as elsewhere that those who are willing to lose their life will in the end save it. Economic reality is on the side of the yearning of the spirit of man

for comradeship. The ideal and the fact run together. World fellowship in economic relations on the basis of mutual service will in the end provide fuller means of development for any people than the aggressive seeking of its own interests. Territory is not so important to nationality as freedom of economic intercourse, say the idealists who are realists. Territory is necessary not for political sovereignty but for the control of economic resources say the statesmen who, boasting that they are not idealists, herein prove that they have missed the larger reality. Seeking national control, for purely national interests, of economic resources which are needed for the common use and development of all the people, they lead their people toward a mirage of glory, to leave them in the end struggling and dying in a desert without either nourishment or brotherhood, as they have been dying by millions in the past four years. The main root of divisive nationalism is economic aggression. It is the same root that grows class cleavage, now spread out through the soil of the world life; and it will continue to grow until the soil is occupied by economic coöperation. To understand others, to appreciate and develop their common qualities, the people must in common pursue their common interests.

If the human family in its progress toward solidarity can pass the barriers of class cleavage and nationalism it will not halt long before the obstruction of race antagonism, for that is simply nationalism writ large. It too is compounded of isolation and ignorance with their resultant prejudice and assumption of superiority; it too has been enlarged by historic injustice, mostly in the form of economic aggression. For this evil the white race must accept most of the responsibility. Its idealists who proclaim the gospel of world brotherhood find their main obstacle in the race prejudice of their own people and in their habits and practices which constantly incite the antagonism of other races. Something has been heard in

times past about 'the yellow peril," and something is occasionally heard to-day about the "the black menace"; but it is an open question whether the white man is not a greater danger to the solidarity of the race than either the yellow man or the black man. If there is in this country to-day any menace from the negro population the responsibility for the situation is clearly placed by history. What economic injustice has the black race perpetrated against the white? If the world is threatened with undue assertion by the yellow race, how much of it is a natural consequence or imitation of the white man's attitude? How much of the animosity that smolders between the people of the two Americas is due to the unmeasured pride and insolence of those of a little paler skin than the rest? The trail of the white man throughout the world is not only the trail of missions and education and hospitals and sanitation and orderly government; it is also the trail of ruthless economic exploitation and the brutal assertion of race superiority.

It is quite true that cultural differences make social solidarity impossible either in a community or in the world; but the difficulty lies not in the natural inferiority of any class or race but in differences of opportunity. These are capitalized into a false assertion of innate superiority and the seizure of the economic means to maintain the original advantage as a divine right. Education knows nothing of inferior classes or races doomed by nature to a permanently lower stage of development than others. There has been sufficient demonstration of the fact that cultural differences, in so far as they broadly obtain between classes or races, can be removed in one or two generations by the provision of the necessary environment and training. The fellowship of students of various races in our higher institutions of learning proves that racial differences are no barrier to the realization of the organic unity of the world life. Because the common capacity for

development is recognized and the common means of development provided, race antagonisms gradually disappear in the student fellowship. This process increases as the religious ideal is present. If similar conditions can be extended to the race as a whole, a similar fellowship will develop. This means that the life of the world must gradually be raised to the same level of culture pursuing a common ideal, and that the economic resources of the earth must be viewed as the means for this common development and not for the special development of the self-styled "great powers."

To this great and high task the forces of education and religion are pledged both by their ideal and practice. They are already seeking to raise all peoples to a general level of life and thought. Their ideal is a commonwealth in whose privileges all may share on the same terms. At this point science and religion differ sharply from commercialism. They seek the common good and no special interest. Science harnesses the man of special capacity to some common task of humanity, religion demands that privileged classes and nations accept the obligation of service to the common weal. The workers of science and religion pass on this spirit of service to their successors as a sacred trust, bidding them seek nothing for themselves but the truth and opportunity to extend and apply it. Commercialism bids the strong get all they can for themselves and then hand it on to their descendants in the form of privilege to exempt them from the common burdens. Thus commercialism creates a class-divided, nationalistic, racially antagonized world while the scientific spirit and the religious spirit would develop a social order without classes and a world life without conflicting nationalism and race antagonism.

It becomes then the urgent duty of science and religion, jointly and separately, continually to transmit throughout the world of economic and governmental activity, now ani-

mated by the spirit of commercialism, the power of their own spirit of service, and to challenge that world to accept as the only rational and possible end and meaning for human activity that expression and enlargement of personality which is comprehended in the prayer of Jesus, "that they all may be one even as we are one." But they will need to exorcise from the body of a convulsed humanity, the spirit of economic aggression that is continually tearing it apart in conflicts of class and nation and race. There is no guarantee, nor even hope, that the economic forces that are making for the interdependence and solidarity of the world life can reach their goal without more conscious aid and direction. They are not likely to overcome the forces that are making for division and conflict unless they are reinforced by the common choice of the ideal of solidarity under whose illumination the people may come to see and understand the interdependence of their economic life and so proceed to complete its unity. The economic factors in the solidarity of the world family await a perception of their spiritual nature before their full power can be developed. They await the intelligent use of a world which desires brotherhood above all things, because it is the largest freedom and the fullest self-realization. Such a world and no other will acquire the power to control its divisive instincts and the institutions they have fashioned. It is plain to-day that the technical capacity for coöperative living, both within and between the nations, is considerably greater than the desire or the will to use it. The Paris Conference and its results, in comparison with the common activities, the common hopes and desires of the war, stands as the supreme example of the fact that man is cursed with a fatal tendency to pursue the immediate need or advantage at the expense of the larger and longer good; that each division of mankind, class or nation or race, is driven by the compulsion of apparent necessity to pursue its own particular interest at the expense

or the neglect of the common good, blind to the fact that the larger self-interest lies wrapped up in the common good and can only be secured with it. It is the province of education and religion continually to show mankind the larger, longer good, to develop the capacity to choose, the will to pursue, and the ability to achieve it.

PART II

PROGRAMS FOR THE NEW ORDER

CHAPTER VII

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

During the war a statement entitled "Labor and the New Social Order" was issued by the British Labor Party as its general program. This party was recently constituted by a threefold alliance between trade unionists, socialists of different schools and members of the co-operative societies. It represents between four and five million people, many of whom are at one and the same time members of a trade union, a socialist organization and a coöperative society. It represents a federation of these three forces for common political action, excepting a small minority wing of both trade unionists and socialists. In addition to the working class this program also represents the "intellectuals." It calls for a party composed of "workers of brain and hand." It would combine for common action in the common interest all who contribute or are willing to contribute socially useful labor to the common welfare. Those who take no part in the necessary undertakings of society cannot belong. In other words, the attempt is to gather together all who are willing to pay their way in the common conveyance. The dead-heads are invited to pay up or else get out and walk. Notice is served on them that they will not much longer be carried free.

The dominant influence in the drafting of the British Labor Party is that of the Fabian Socialists, a group who chose their name because to reach their goal they copied the tactics of the famous Roman general Fabius. The leading figure of this group is Mr. Sidney Webb, a writer of international repute on the labor question. It has been charged that this program

is not the voice of labor because it was mainly drafted by brain workers and that labor, in the old limited sense of the term, accepted it for lack of an alternative. However that may be, it is of little consequence beside the fact that this program is being increasingly appropriated all over the world as the voice of labor and an adequate expression of the desires of those who want to organize a new order on the basis of common service. In harmony with its policies, the organized miners of Great Britain have recently submitted to the British Government a proposal for the nationalization of mines, and secured its recommendation by a government commission. The organized railroad men of this country have also recently presented our government with a proposal for the nationalization of railroads, with an operating corporation composed of all those engaged in the service. The United Mine Workers have just passed, through their executive committee, a similar proposal concerning the mines of this country.

The first significant thing about the British Labor program is its analysis of the need for a new order because of the collapse of our present industrial civilization. Citing the statement of Count Okuma of Japan, that the war was the death of European civilization, the statement declares:

> We of the Labor Party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognize, in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct.

Industrial civilization began with the industrial revolution which was the effect of the invention of the power machine. It has totally changed the relation of the workers to their work, to the economic resources upon which it depends and to the tools by which it is done, from that which existed under hand industry. They cannot own the machines and they can have little knowledge of or interest in the process of getting the raw materials or disposing of the product, all of which func-

tions were formerly in some degree open to them. Consequently their relation to the employers and owners and to their own income has also been changed by factory organization. The details are now commonly known and the process may be seen in our small communities as a small business grows into a large organization. Those who accept the British Labor program hold that the present type of industrial civilization has fulfilled its usefulness, that it occasions so much injustice and misery that there must now come about whatever economic and political change is necessary to relieve the world from its effects.

> The individualistic system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital with its reckless 'profiteering' and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretense of the 'survival of the fittest'; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor Party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. On the contrary we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death.

Concerning the justice and truth of this analysis any of the later economists can be consulted. There is also the witness of those who have analyzed industrial society from the moral and spiritual point of view, beginning with Ruskin and Tolstoi. After that is the mass of facts and figures gathered by commission after commission and bureau on top of bureau in every industrial country, a veritable judgment scroll of modern civilization that ought to rend the walls that hide it from the people. Finally there is the voice of those who are now faced with the responsibility of attempting to make the present economic order meet its own accepted obligation, namely, to provide the needed improvement of economic goods for the

development of humanity. Those men call themselves production engineers and their analysis of the present order in society is no less severe on grounds of practical efficiency than that of the economists, the social investigators and the great religious teachers. If the case is still not clear, there remains to be considered the economic experience of the war, when in order to produce and deliver the food and the goods indispensable to the situation, it was necessary to adopt methods and to apply principles of economic organization which are entirely contrary to the fundamental presuppositions of individualistic capitalistic production.

In putting out this program as "a deliberately thought out, systematic and comprehensive plan, for that immediate social rebuilding, which any ministry whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem will be driven to undertake," the British Labor Party attempts to distinguish itself from other political parties by declaring that "our detailed practical proposals proceed from certain definitely held principles." They recognize that society cannot be made over in a few years of "feverish reconstruction," but they propose to be sure that the measures they advocate, move in the direction of these principles. "What the Labor Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends and no other." They set forth a common end to be pursued and they indicate that this common end is to be reached by developing a common spirit.

> If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity; not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned coöperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain; not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world; not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but,

in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy.

Here then, is a working definition of the end, the spirit and the method of the new social order. As the immediate necessary steps toward this new order the British Labor Party suggests various detailed proposals. It likens them to the upper framework of a house, supported by four main pillars resting upon a common foundation. The common foundation is "the democratic control of society in all its activities." The "Four Pillars of the House" are:

"1.– The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum.
2.– The Democratic Control of Industry.
3.– The Revolution in National Finance.
4.– The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good."

The basis of the demand for the Universal Enforcement of the National Mimimum, is extremely significant.

The first principle of the Labor Party—in significant contrast with those of the capitalist system, whether expressed by the Liberal or by the Conservative party, is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike (and not only to the strong and able, the well-born or the fortunate), of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. This is in no sense a 'class' proposal. Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death, is, as the economist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful coöperation as it is to successful combination; and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious degradation of the standard of life which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community can be subjected.

And again,

Only on the basis of a universal application of the policy of the national mimimum, affording complete security against destruction, in sickness and in health, in good times and bad alike, to every member of the community of whatever age or sex, can any worthy social order be built up.

The claim is made that for this proposal "the spokesmen of the Labor Party have already gained the support of the enlightened statesmen and economists of the world." It is pointed out that Great Britain has already adopted and is continually elaborating a number of social welfare measures, "all of them aiming at the enforcement of at least the prescribed minimum. It might have been added that the same fact holds in some degree for all industrial nations; all recent legislation touching labor, health and education aims at safeguarding a minimum of life for the individual against the repeated encroachments of the industrial system.

It is the social basis of such policy that this British program emphasizes. It emphasizes the fact that the necessity for the provision of a universal minimum arises out of the solidarity of society, both economic and spiritual. The objective is to safeguard the community against "economic and social calamity."

> We are members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone. If any, even the humblest is made to suffer, the whole community, and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. Generation after generation this has been the cornerstone of the faith of labor; it will be the guiding principle of any labor government.

The philosophy of natural rights, the rights to which every individual is entitled because he is an individual, has become a popular dogma. One of its forms is: "The world owes every man a living." But this demand for a national minimum universally enforced, is not based primarily upon individual rights, but upon social necessity. It is the social effects of the lack of a mimimum which are pointed out as constituting the imperative for its provision. These consequences amount to the progressive decadence of community life through the gradual loss of physical vigor and mental capacity. This is the inevitable fate of any nation which tolerates an order of things in which a section of its population lives permanently

below the poverty line that is, without a minimum of subsistence. The social results of poverty are amply demonstrated by all sorts of inquiries and investigations made in the last twenty-five years. The United States has been the slowest of the great industrial nations to recognize the social results of the failure of a section of its population to gain a minimum of subsistence. But those results are now coming fast in this country. The reason we have been slow to realize the nature of poverty as a social fact is that until recently we have been able to avoid widespread misery because of our great economic opportunity, due both to the extent and richness of our natural resources and the degree of intelligence and skill with which they have been developed. But what we have been doing is to mistake our exceptional economic opportunity for individual capacity. We have been bragging a great deal about the superiority of our people and our institutions, whereas the subject of our boast, if boast we must, should have been the extent and richness of our land, timber, minerals and water power. Now as our natural resources and our economic opportunities get controlled, poverty increases among us, with all its consequences, and we are beginning to learn that an abundance of natural resources is no permanent substitute for sound social policy. The lame and lazy are not always provided for.

Finally, in resting its case for a national minimum upon the injury which any personality suffers if another personality is hurt, British Labor is expounding the spiritual aspects of social solidarity. Expressing the ancient faith of labor in the principle of mutual aid, it accepts that principle as a law of social organization and as a categorical moral imperative. It is, after all, the spirit of compassion and the sense of justice, making it impossible for men to be content that others are injured while they themselves are whole, that form the bond between the strong and the weak, leading them to work to-

gether and overcome the circumstances that give rise to the differences between them. Such effort is a central fact in family life and educational development. The proposal for the national provision of a universal minimum is the family principle of equality of maintenance for every member of the group carried over to the national life. It is now proposed that the nation assume final responsibility for the provision of a portion of the means of development which the family has heretofore been supposed to provide, and to provide with equality. This is not true of course concerning families under a system in which special rights and privileges go to the first born male, but in the democratic family it is an unwritten law that the children share equally in whatever means of maintenance and development the family is able to provide. One of the finest examples of the principle is the family whose income will not send all the children to college, and that undertaking then becomes a coöperative enterprise. The one who goes first considers it his duty on graduation to financially help the next in turn, and so on in succession. The sound family principle is to share and share alike in the means of maintenance and development. For any member of the family to evade that responsibility is both an injury to the family and a disgrace to himself. The same holds for the relations between the family and the community. By its legislation concerning neglected children and its provisions for their care the local community recognizes the necessity for equality of maintenance up to a certain point; holds the heads of the family responsible for its provision, and itself assumes the burden of their failure. To extend this responsibility of removing the conditions that now make it impossible for many families to meet their primary duty to their children, and to do it on a national scale, is but the necessary consequence of existing policies. There are two matters involved here, the ability to provide a minimum of subsistence and the will to provide

it equally. If the family is unable to provide the minimum for its members, its life breaks down. If it is able to provide it and more, and fails to on equal terms, its unity is destroyed; it is cleft by jealousy and rent by quarrels.

Does not the same hold true for the nation? If the nation is unable to provide the means for maintenance and development, its life breaks down. If it is able, and fails to do it on equal terms for all, there occur the same inevitable divisions between the classes that come between the members of a family if it does not carry out the democratic principle of equality of maintenance. In this, the richest of lands, if we can feel something of the injury to our social solidarity that arises from the fact that a certain section of people are without the due and proper means of maintenance, we shall perhaps feel the disgrace of such a condition and proceed to remedy it.

It is generally assumed among us that any family is able to provide a minimum standard for its children if it wants to and that the adult is likewise able to meet his necessities, with occasional exceptions due to unfortunate circumstances. These are the accidents that must occur in the best regulated family and we provide for them by charitable organizations. Whereas the fact is that a large section of the industrial and agricultural workers are like the younger children of the family, unable to develop, and a considerable number unable to secure a minimum of subsistence without the common help. This is mainly because the economic means for their development are beyond their control, because natural resources have been preëmpted and the creation of economic privilege has given special opportunities to a few with a corresponding limitation for the many. There was a time in this country when the minimum of subsistence was within the reach of all because of equality of access to natural opportunities, but for an increasing body of people that minimum is no longer obtainable by individual initiative and can be secured only

by social regulation. The lower classes, so called, will be just as unable to develop without the social provision of this minimum as children would be unable to develop unless the family, or failing that, the community, should provide the means for their nourishment and education. The same thing holds true for the undeveloped races as for the undeveloped classes. If the white people are going to develop the natural resources of those regions where undeveloped races live, it is morally and socially essential that they should provide that every possible bit of the wealth which results should be applied to the development of the peoples of those regions, that development to be self-determined. If there is a "white man's burden," he will do well for the world and for himself to carry it for the love of it and not for profit.

Is the policy of a national minimum paternalism or democracy? Does it mean such routine or regimentation that life becomes one dull and dreary ordered round? Being individualists bred and born, the people of the United States are largely fearful that any such policy would result in the loss of initiative and in escape from responsibility by a large section of the population. But it is noticeable that those who are so afraid are mostly those who have always had the advantage of a minimum, and very much more, in their own lives, or those who are able to provide on that larger scale for their children. These are the people who are afraid that other children will suffer by being guaranteed that which they propose to guarantee their own children. The argument cannot be saved by turning it into the destruction of adult initiative and responsibility. It is in childhood and youth that the effect upon initiative of the guarantee of a minimum must begin, as it is there that the social consequences of its absence commence. Those who use the argument of paternalism and destruction of initiative are under obligation to prove that the community guarantee of conditions that would enable every

family to provide a minimum for its children is any more destructive of initiative in the developing period of life than the same guarantee resting upon a free for all struggle. They are also under obligation to prove that this guarantee can be universally provided by a laissez faire policy or be open to the charge of justifying and seeking to maintain special privilege. One of the distinguished educational administrators of this country is reported to have said in a speech on this British program that it was the most dangerous proposition ever given to the world because it would rob the working people of their initiative. That gentleman was born in a cultured, well-to-do family which gave him freely not only the necessities of life but the fullest opportunity for his spiritual development. Did free access in youth to very much more than the minimum now asked for the working people rob him of energy or initiative? He has rendered some very distinct services to this nation; he offers in his own person then a very good argument for the guarantee of a minimum where it is not now available. Is it possible that what such well-meaning people really want is that others should do for themselves under great handicap what the family did for them, that they are willing to take their privilege and enjoy it and leave other people with no possible opportunity of ever sharing it? The case is still worse for those self-made men who continually glorify the developmental value of the struggle for subsistence and then jealously shield their children from any part of that struggle. Those who believe in the doctrine of self-help seem somehow to lack the courage of their convictions when it comes to their own flesh and blood. Is it then fundamentally a doctrine of limited salvation and vicarious suffering?

Those who are afraid that a universal national minimum would destroy initiative and responsibility must consider the evidence of our charity records concerning what happens to those qualities when people once realize that the means of

development are beyond their personal reach. The same evidence also reveals what happens to initiative when a minimum standard is lacking for several generations. It would appear that even the desire for the socially necessary minimum is in time obliterated. It is only when the minimum of subsistence is to be obtained by all on reasonable terms that the higher possibilities of life can have a universal appeal. The weak are not pioneers in any of life's territory. They will never explore the universe. Therefore the greater the number of people who are kept weak, the less the universe will be explored, and the longer mankind will bear the burden of ignorance. If initiative is to be developed to its full capacity and all the people are to take their full load of responsibility, it must be made possible for life to be generally lived above the subsistence level, for it is the higher reaches of living that develop and tax our common human nature.

Whether or not such a policy would unduly limit freedom depends upon the spirit and purpose. The question at issue is not whether it is paternalism but what kind of paternalism is it; whether or not the paternalism of the family injures the children depends upon whether the administration of the family is autocratic or democratic. Benevolent but autocratic paternalism for those who cannot take care of themselves is better than nothing, but to be of social value it must be replaced by a mutual arrangement before it has weakened or embittered its beneficiaries and corrupted its administrators. The paternalism which in a democratic way provides the essentials of life for those who cannot provide for themselves, stimulates both the individual and the common life to reach still higher standards, just as the democratic paternalism of the family stimulates both children and parents to mutual improvement. The method is always determined by the goal; if the goal is the extension of the authority and privilege of a ruling class over the community, the provisions

devised presumably for the development of the people, will in reality be repressive. If the goal is a fraternal community, measures for the development of the handicapped will apply the stimulus of coöperative endeavor to all the peoples. In considering the proposal for a national minimum the democratic state must be clear about its purpose. Is the purpose to open the way for the unhindered development of all the people or is the purpose to keep some at a certain level, to supply them with what they must have to be efficient workers, and so enable the rest to live in comfort without being troubled by the sight of misery? This is the determining question. Does the provision of a minimum contemplate contented subservience on the part of those who receive it or is it to be a preparation for their further development? That is the difference between the minimum program of the Prussian state and the minimum program of the British Labor Party. The Prussian state did measurably provide a minimum of subsistence for its workers in order to keep them efficient and contented and subservient workers and to maintain the solidarity of the State. It failed as every such plan must fail that is not inspired by the vision of full social development for all the people and carried out under democratic control. But with these essentials it is likely that the policy of a national minimum would not only prevent the destruction of initiative and responsibility by poverty, but would stimulate and enlarge those necessary qualities through its challenge to coöperate in the common undertaking and to respond to its privileges.

This program of the British Labor Party suggests measures designed to protect initiative. The first emphasis is upon labor legislation to prevent the degradation of extreme poverty by establishing the minimum wage and provisions against unemployment. This legislation is only a preventive barrier between the worker and the abyss of destitution. It prevents

his natural initiative from being gradually destroyed by the inability to get work or having found it, to earn a livelihood. The factor that is counted on most to secure a universal minimum is the guarantee of security of employment. Concerning the demobilization of the millions of soldiers and war-workers it is said: "The Labor Party insists, as no other political party has thought fit to do, that the obligation to find suitable employment in productive work for all these men and women rests upon the government for the time being."

And again:

> But nothing is more dangerous to the standard of life, or so destructive of those minimum conditions of healthy existence, which must in the interests of the community be assured to every worker, than any widespread or continued unemployment. It has always been a fundamental principle of the Labor Party (a point on which, significantly enough, it has not been followed by either of the other political parties) that, in a modern industrial community, it is one of the foremost obligations of the government to find, for every willing worker, whether by hand or by brain, productive work at standard rates.

Also

> The Labor Party moreover holds it to be the duty of the government of the day to take all necessary steps to prevent the standard rates of wages in any trade or occupation whatsoever, from suffering any reduction relating to the contemporary cost of living.

The measures proposed in order to provide security of employment are those which have been commonly suggested wherever the problem has been considered.

First, as a protective measure it is suggested that in the demobilization period those soldiers should first be released for whom the labor market has a demand. Then it is declared to be "the duty of the government to adopt a policy of deliberately and systematically preventing the occurrence of unemployment instead of as heretofore letting unemployment occur and then seeking vainly and expensively to relieve the

unemployed." This is to be done by so arranging all public undertakings as "to maintain the aggregate demand for labor in the whole kingdom, including that of capitalist employers approximately at a uniform level from year to year," and by the creation of emergency public works of various kinds. Then

to relieve any pressure of an overstocked labor market the opportunity should be taken if unemployment should threaten to become widespread, (a) immediately to raise the school-leaving age to sixteen; (b) greatly to increase the number of scholarships and bursaries for secondary and higher education; (c) substantially to shorten the hours of labor of all young persons, even to a greater extent than the eight hours per week contemplated in the new Education Bill, in order to enable them to attend technical and other classes in the daytime. Finally, wherever practicable, the hours of adult labor should be reduced to not more than forty-eight without reduction of the standard rate of wages.

Social insurance against unemployment is also suggested, to be administered in coöperation with the out-of-work benefits of the trade unions.

In so far as the Government fails to prevent unemployment, wherever it finds it impossible to discover for any willing worker a suitable situation at the standard rate, the Labor Party holds that the government must in the interest of the community as a whole, provide him or her with adequate maintenance, either with such arrangements for honorable employment, or with such useful training as may be found practicable, according to age, health and previous occupation.

Thus the demand for a national minimum is based upon the presupposition that if only sufficient work under proper conditions can be provided, the workers will very largely take care of themselves. It is not a proposal to maintain people by public charity, but the assertion of the public duty to provide a minimum of subsistence through the means of employment in order, not that from that basis some may go up higher, but that from that common soil the entire nation may acquire the power to raise its life to a higher level. It is frankly a proposal for equality of opportunity in the means of life, and particularly in the means of employment.

Is the assumption that a general advance in life would follow the universal minimum a justifiable assumption? Something can be gathered in answer to that question by seeing what happens to our immigrant population when it can get security of employment at a living wage and under proper conditions. Does any immigrant nationality go up or down from that point? More light can be gained by watching the course of any skilled group of workers anywhere in the world who, through the organized development of their economic power, are able to secure for themselves security of employment under good conditions. What facts we have at hand indicate that a raise in the level of life follows a general increase of economic opportunity. The experience of family life also indicates that while it may be necessary to have a degree of social regimentation to secure a minimum standard, it is still possible along with that to preserve and increase individual initiative and responsibility. The universal minimum is relied upon only to prevent the decadence of society through the destruction of the individual and the family by poverty. For progress, reliance is placed upon individual effort, to which larger opportunity is thus to be opened.

The possibility of such a condition raises a question that has never yet been fairly faced by modern society. What happens if a nation can secure such a degree of subsistence for all the people that it becomes possible for those who now do the elemental work of the community to attain the cultured status of those who now provide the technical and professional services that civilization requires? There would then be no lower class, conveniently able to do only the dirty and disagreeable work of the community. If the enforcement of the national minimum would in the course of time transform the weak and inefficient members of society into strong and capable citizens, would they then be as disinclined to do the monotonous and hazardous work of an industrial civilization

as those who are now strong and capable. Our familiar escape from the dilemna, as one group after another climbs up the social scale, is to bring in still another undeveloped group. We have ransacked the world for cheap labor. During the war we brought the negroes up from the south and even proposed to bring the coolies in from China. The proposal to prohibit immigration evokes the indignant query from certain quarters, "What will we do for servants?" But there is an end to that proceeding sooner or later. Before long we shall have to do without an undeveloped, subservient class, so we might as well consider while we have time whether it is not possible to so organize our whole manner and method of life that no section of the population will be continually consigned to do what nobody really wants to do. That question is yet to be answered in the future. What the British Labor program does toward answering it is to push home upon the nation the responsibility for the orderly organization of its industrial affairs. It declares that the industrial army should be maintained "in sickness and in health, in good times and in bad alike," exactly as a fighting army is maintained. If the production of economic goods is considered a social necessity and not a means for private gain, it follows both logically and practically that the community which consciously organizes itself to produce goods for social welfare will provide for the constant well-being of the army of production. The effect of such common organization and responsibility upon the individual is not likely to be as injurious as in a military organization, because there is more continuous and constructive occupation. In some callings there is necessarily a long period of leisurely employment and then a short period of very strenuous and dangerous work, such as obtains in military life. But the demoralizing possibilities of such a method of living are more easily avoided under a coördinated plan than under the hit or miss methods of private industry, where it may be

that nobody sees or tries to avert them. The only rational solution to the problem of unemployment is to accept community responsibility for the maintenance of industry as a continuous service and to gradually organize it as a common undertaking, that from it all the people may derive the means for nourishment and growth and in it may find life more abundantly, through the expression of their creative spirit and capacity for fellowship. Increasingly we have been moving in the direction of a minimum standard in the United States through short-hour, minimum wage, and workmen's compensation laws. It remains for the nation to accept the principle and more thoroughly apply it. This is for the wage earners an economic necessity; is it any less a spiritual necessity for those who are in a more favored social status?

The next pillar in the new house that the British Labor Party proposes to erect is the Democratic Control of Industry. They then proceed to interpret industrial democracy not, as we are yet doing here, simply in terms of the democratic management of the local workshop or collective bargaining between associations of capital and labor, but at once they proceed to interpret industrial democracy in national terms.

> The Labor Party insists on democracy in industry as well as in government. It demands the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalist, individual or joint-stock; and the setting free of all who work, whether by hand or by brain, for the service of the community, and of the community only. And the Labor Party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganization, waste and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent, not on the service of the community, but—by the very law of their being—only on the utmost possible profiteering.

Industrial democracy is thus defined as the organization of the industrial process under common control for the largest possible service to the entire community.

Here is at once a new definition of citizenship and a new

application of industrial endeavor; it puts the will to serve at the center of the new social order. Teachers, preachers and doctors pride themselves that they work in service to the whole community. Then why not miners and weavers and railroad men? If it adds something of dignity and joy to the life of the professional workers to know that they are democratically serving the entire community, why should that dignity and joy be denied the worker in the mine and the mill and the shop? Why should not the daily work of all men enlarge their spiritual life?

The economic argument for the democratic control of industry in this broad sense rests upon the fact of the waste of the competitive profit-seeking system. This waste is a matter of common knowledge and protest. The last to raise their voices against it are the production engineers. Their statements are not biased by dogma; they have but one interest—to make the industrial machine go in the best possible way—and after a scientific diagnosis they tell us that there is so much waste in our present methods that it is possible with our present working capacity to increase production three times over. Democratic control of industry must meet the test of the need of increased production.

What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onward in its aggregate productivity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the 'Captains of Industry' to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis. What the Labor Party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the Common Ownership of the Means of Production; the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote, not profiteering, but the public interest.

Thus the Labor Party, in seeking for increased production, looks on the one hand to the scientific method and on the

other hand to the passion for service. In this respect as in its other aspects, the program that is necessary for the emancipation and development of the toilers depends upon the aid and comfort of the forces of education and religion.

Because this program considers the democratic control of industry as a national problem, it places the major emphasis upon the nationalization of certain enterprises. It must be remembered however, that this is supplementary to and in extension of the other forms of democratic control which the members of the British Labor Party have long been developing and will continue to strengthen. They are really driving three horses abreast, trade unionism, coöperative societies and national ownership and administration. The first horses have long been broken to harness and have proved good workers in pulling the common load of labor and the community. The third horse is yet in the breaking. Its use is largely a venture of faith. But at present the load is stalled, and additional help must be secured from some source or other. It is admitted by most students of the situation that our present method of competitive, individualistic capitalism is not accomplishing the necessary end of meeting the economic needs of humanity, to say nothing of satisfying the spiritual desires of mankind. Moreover it does not show sign of being able to increase its productivity except at the cost of increased social waste. In such a situation man is bound to experiment with other methods if there are any, even though he may be turning from ills he knows to others he knows not. In view of the lack of both science and religion in the present industrial organization, people who believe in both are likely to think it worth while to try a program which promises to rely upon both.

The program proposes immediate nationalization of the land, railroads, mines, and the production of electric power. It is interesting to note that the organized workers of other

industrial countries, including our own, are increasingly voicing the demand that coal mines and railroads be nationalized. This is a natural beginning, for these are general necessities which are already so widely organized on both the side of capital and labor, as to make a unified national administration of them a comparatively simple matter.

> In the production of electricity, for cheap power, light, and heating, this country has so far failed, because of hampering private interests, to take advantage of science. Even in the largest cities we still 'peddle' our electricity on a contemptibly small scale. What is called for, immediately after the war, is the erection of a score of gigantic 'super-power stations,' which could generate, at incredibly cheap rates, enough electricity for the use of every industrial establishment and every private household in Great Britain; the present municipal and joint-stock electrical plants being universally linked up and used for local distribution. This is inevitably the future of electricity. It is plain that so great and so powerful an enterprise, affecting every industrial enterprise and, eventually, every household, must not be allowed to pass into the hands of private capitalists. They are already pressing the Government for the concession, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative Party has yet made up its mind to a refusal of such a new endowment of profiteering in what will presently be the life-blood of modern productive industry. The Labor Party demands that the production of electricity on the necessary gigantic scale shall be made, from the start (with suitable arrangements for municipal coöperation in local distribution) a national enterprise, to be worked exclusively with the object of supplying the whole kingdom with the cheapest possible Power, Light and Heat.

It would be a much more difficult matter to apply this proposal here than in England because of our great territorial expanse. It would be possible, however, to apply it in the areas adjacent to water power and coal deposits. In the latter case the generation of heat and light at the mines would probably affect a great saving in transmission as against the cost of the transportation and local handling of coal. It is not the technical problem so much as the vested rights the nation has ignorantly created—by giving away its mineral deposits and much of its water power—that makes such a proposal very difficult of accomplishment. Incidentally, while

this nation has been busy carrying on war, a group of financial interests have made a good deal of progress in getting their hands on the undeveloped water power of the country.

Along with this proposal to nationalize electricity and make it a universal servant, to lighten the burden of living for all the people, for women as well as men, and so to enlarge the opportunity for cultural development goes a collateral proposal concerning the use of coal.

> But with railways and the generation of electricity in the hands of the public, it would be criminal folly to leave to the present 1,500 colliery companies the power of 'holding up' the coal supply. These are now all working under public control, on terms that virtually afford to their shareholders a statutory guarantee of their swollen incomes. The Labor Party demands the immediate nationalization of mines, the extraction of coal and iron being worked as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the various grades of persons employed); and the whole business of the retail distribution of household coal being undertaken, as a local public service, by the elected municipal or county councils. And there is no reason why coal should fluctuate in price any more than railway fares, or why the consumer should be made to pay more in winter than in summer, or in one town than another. What the Labor Party would aim at is, for household coal of standard qualify, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage-stamp.

It will take a lot of specious publicity on the part of the private interests now profiting out of the coal business to make the people of the United States turn down a practical proposition of this sort when once they get their eyes upon it and understand that it can be done apart from the politicians. During the war, the head of one of our government commissions proposed that the price of coal should be standarized; that the cost of production should be determined for different kinds and areas; that these costs should be pooled and on the basis of the average cost of production for the different grades a standard price for the country should be fixed. The returns were then to be apportioned proportionately to the

local cost of production. The author of this plan informed a leading production engineer that the response of the coal operators was to tell him he was crazy. The engineer replied: "then I am crazy too; because that is the only scientific way to fix the price of coal." In an open forum where the subject of control of prices was raised, the characteristic question was asked: "But how in the world can prices be determined except by the law of supply and demand?" There are some gentlemen in this country, not professors of economics, who could, if they would, give an expert answer to that question. They have discovered that "the law of supply and demand," like many another high sounding phrase, is a cloak for ignorance and inability. They have therefore followed an ancient custom and capitalized their knowledge and ability. They have limited supply and checked and stimulated demand. Within certain limits they have become the law that has fixed the price. There is another way, the only way that science knows; it is that of basing the price on the average cost of production. Under production for profit this practice is being used wherever capital is intelligent enough to protect itself from the risk of loss due to ignorance in price fixing. It can be used in a larger interest; it is one of the contributions of modern knowledge which make possible the organization of production for use and not for profit, substituting for profit an assured and reasonable return for services rendered.

The British Labor Party views heat, light and power as human necessities, not occasions for profit. It believes that advance in social life depends upon making all necessities available to all the people. There are several basic necessities to which the people of this country cannot get access in the same degree to which they can now get access to education, because there is no attempt to administer them in the common interest as there is with education.

A part of the British program of common ownership is to

be carried out through the municipalities. Such a program we have already embarked upon in this country, extending municipal administration to one thing after another; water and light, education and recreation. The Labor Party proposes to extend this process to include:

> Other services of common utility, particularly the local supply of milk, wherever this is not already fully and satisfactorily organized by a coöperative society.

Now that education and water and light are no longer the sacred domain of private profit, there is no valid reason to consider food as consecrated to Mammon. Why should not milk as well as water be managed in the common interest? Every household takes milk and it is one of the vital factors in determining the public health. Why then should the community be subject to the waste and the danger continually attendant upon the two prevailing methods of milk distribution, which are anarchy and organized war between competing interests?

The beneficiaries of the private ownership of big-scale economic enterprise and public utilities naturally point out that the program of nationalization and municipalization rests more upon hypothesis then experience; that it is attempting the application of a formula which may or may not accomplish what its proponents desire. From the standpoint of religion this obligation is irrelevant because religion knows that life never advances save by a venture of faith. In the nature of the case the benefits to come from the nationalization of industry are assumed; they could not be proved, they must wait upon experiment. It is clear, however, that the whole process of social development is a limitation of private and an extension of public enterprise in the field of common necessity. The advocates of the nationalization of industrial undertakings are faced with a more serious criticism. It comes not only from the advocates of private ownership but

also from the ranks of those who believe in common ownership and control, where it is voiced in different degree by both the Syndicalists and the Guild Socialists. It is the criticism that nationalization as advocated by the State Socialists would clamp down upon industrial management the bureaucratic control of politicians, men who know nothing about industrial technique and therefore cannot be efficient, and who are likely to use industrial control for their own political advantage, if not for their private profit. It is also pointed out that political management is far removed from the workers; though they have the right to vote they have little voice in the state and but little share in its control. Therefore the argument runs that the political control of industry would remove the control still further from the workers than the absentee management of private capitalism. The Guild Socialists propose to avoid both these consequences of state socialism and also the social tyranny likely to result from the proposal of the Syndicalists to eliminate the political state and put the control of all social functions in the hands of the people organized as economic producers, by having a dual system. They would put the administration of production into the hands of the organized workers of all capacities but make them responsible to the state representing all the people and taking charge of the administration of distribution and consumption.

It must be remembered that the Labor Party program deals only with political action. Those who compose it are acting directly in the economic field through their trade unions and coöperative societies. It merely dismisses the whole question of localization of industrial democracy with a phrase concerning the necessity of "increasing the participation of the workers in the management, both central and local," without any indication of measures through which that participation is to be worked out. The program shows

a tendency to overwork the formula of nationalization. The question of democratic control of industry is a field for experiment and not for dogma. Democracy in industry can be accomplished only in the same way that a measure of it has been realized in the state, and that is by the method of trial and error.

For enterprises that are left in private hands, the British Labor Party proposes strict government regulation. It insists that gains which have been secured during war time through governmental control of industry shall not be allowed to lapse.

Meanwhile, however, we ought not to throw away the valuable experience now gained by the government in its assumption of the importation of wheat, wool, metals, and other commodities, and in its control of the shipping, woollen, leather, clothing, boot and shoe, milling, baking, butchering, and other industries. The Labor Party holds that, whatever may have been the shortcomings of this Government importation and control, it has demonstrably prevented a lot of 'profiteering.' Nor can it end immediately on the Declaration of Peace. The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the Government itself, now rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. Standing as it does for the Democratic Control of Industry, the Labor Party would think twice before it sanctioned any abandonment of the present profitable centralisation of purchase of raw material; of the present carefully organised 'rationing,' by joint committees of the trades concerned, of the several establishments with the materials they require; of the present elaborate system of 'costing' and public audit of manufacturers' accounts, so as to stop the waste heretofore caused by the mechanical inefficiency of the more backward firms; of the present salutary publicity of manufacturing processes and expenses thereby ensured; and, on the information thus obtained (in order never again to revert to the old-time profiteering) of the present rigid fixing, for standarised products, of maximum prices at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale trader, and in the retail shop.

The demand is made that the government should protect the consumer as well as the producer.

It is, so the Labor Party holds, just as much the function of Government, and just as necessary a part of the Democratic Regulation of Industry, to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, and those of all grades and sections of private consumers, in the matter of prices, as it is, by the Factory and Trade Boards Acts, to protect the rights of the wage-earning producers in the matter of wages, hours of labor, and sanitation.

In the attempt to work out a democratic control of industry there will have to be some checks and balances in order to prevent the consumers from unduly beating down the producers, and the producers from unduly exploiting the consumers. In the last analysis this means that we will all need to realize that we are in one and the same person, and in one and the same group, part producer and part consumer, and must therefore acquire sufficient control to prevent one aspect of our lives from interfering with the other. If we can come to see the solidarity of life we shall be able better to adjust the differences between these two aspects of our living. Progress lies in discovering and developing mutuality of interest, not in the adjustment of conflicting interests that are then allowed to remain in essential conflict.

The third pillar in the house of the new social order proposed by British Labor is The Revolution in National Finance. The word revolution in this connection need not increase the present terror at its sound, for what is here proposed is very mild in the light of what is now happening to private property in other parts of Europe. This subject is approached with the statement that:

In taxation, also, the interests of the professional and housekeeping classes are at one with those of the manual workers.

And again:

In this matter the Labor Party claims the support of four-fifths of the whole nation, for the interests of the clerk, the teacher, the doctor, the minister of religion, the average retail shopkeeper and trade, and

all the mass of those living on small incomes are identical with those of the artisan.

Again science is called into court.

Too long has our National Finance been regulated, contrary to the teaching of Political Economy, according to the wishes of the possessing classes and the profits of the financiers. The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor Party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, whilst three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis.

In this matter science does not stand with a clear record. There have been teachers of political economy who have helped the financiers to regulate the national finance to their profit. In this country some economists informed the Treasury Department of the social consequences to the common people of a policy of war finance which depended largely upon loans. Others advised in the interests of the present financial system and still more were silent. No adequate protest was made against the incorporation of tax exemption features into the Liberty Loans by those who know well that for all the privileges which the people of means thus receive, the people of small income will eventually have to pay and pay roundly.

The report also points out how the war has rendered much more acute for every nation the question of taxation.

When peace comes, capital will be needed for all sorts of social enterprises, and the resources of Government will necessarily have to be vastly greater than they were before the war. Meanwhile innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who have taken advantage of the nation's needs; and the one-tenth of the population which owns nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before. Such a position demands a revolution in national finance.

The same facts obtain in this country in about the same degree, though the large national resources of this nation and

the tremendous increase in its capital wealth derived from the war make a little less threatening the question that is now troubling Europe of who is going to pay the bill? Is it going to be paid by those nine-tenths of the people who own the one-tenth of the riches, and are the one-tenth who own nine-tenths to escape their due share by means of tax-exempted loans, offering them a still larger share of the national income and opportunity for still further profit from the national necessity, as they have already profited from the agony of Europe? The question will not long remain unanswered even in this complacent country.

For its answer the British program lays down certain definite principles.

> The Labor Party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the prescribed National Minimum Standard of Life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice.

Naturally these principles will seem contradictory to those who own nine-tenths of the property. To draw the national finance only from regions above the National Minimum Standard of Life will seem to them inequality. But if the government is to maintain a national minimum of subsistence by the aid of taxation, for to begin with it cannot be maintained without, it would be complete folly to then encroach upon that minimum again by means of taxation. That would be to build with one hand and destroy with the other. The equality here contended for is an equality of sacrifice—a thing not exactly popular among any class of the population, let alone among the privileged one-tenth.

But whatever other kind or degree of equality is necessary to constitute a better social order, without equality of sacrifice it surely cannot live. A formal equality may be a tre-

mendous inequality. If there is so much load to be carried, and so many strong and so many weak to carry it, and then each is required to carry his mathematical portion, formal equality is achieved but actual equality is denied and the load does not all get moved. Proportionate equality, the principle of service according to strength, is the only kind of equality that satisfies the necessities of the case or the dictates of conscience. From time immemorial the strong have controlled civilization and government on the principle that to them the battle should be, and to the swift, the race. But since one came teaching the reversion of that principle, declaring that the strong should serve and not rule in proportion to their strength, increasing numbers of men have come to understand the meaning of strength and to accept its obligations. Gradually life gets organized on the basis of equality of service and sacrifice. In this particular case this principle clearly means that the burden of national finance shall be borne by those able to carry it without injury to themselves or to the common life. When the sources of income are examined, it is seen that such a method of taxation makes for equality in a wider sense. It appears that as income rises above the minimum standard an ever-increasing proportion of the excess comes out of the common toil, is the creation of common activity. Abstracted for the enlargement of a few, it leaves the common life so much the weaker and poorer. Put back into the common life from whence it came, it helps to provide more equal opportunity for the development of all.

To maintain this principle of equality of sacrifice and of burden according to strength, the following measures are proposed:

We definitely repudiate all proposals for a Protective Tariff, in whatever specious guise they may be cloaked, as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor, who avowedly expects his

profit or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation, of whatever kind, which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life. We hold that indirect taxation on commodites, whether by Customs or Excise, should be strictly limited to luxuries; and concentrated principally on those of which it is socially desirable that the consumption should be actually discouraged. We are at one with the manufacturer, the farmer, and the trader in objecting to taxes interfering with production or commerce, or hampering transport and communication. In all these matters—once more in contrast with the other political parties, and by no means in the interests of the wage-earners alone—the Labor Party demands that the very definite teachings of economic science should no longer be disregarded.

"For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labor Party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and for the requisite effort to pay off the National Debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The Income Tax and Super-tax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the taxpayers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in proportion to the number of persons to be maintained.

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It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape, and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income. The Excess Profits Tax might well be retained in an appropriate form; whilst so long as Mining Royalties exist the Mineral Rights Duty ought to be increased. The steadily rising Unearned Increment of urban and mineral land ought, by an appropriate direct Taxation of Land Values, to be wholly brought into the Public Exchequer. At the same time, for the service and redemption of the National Debt, the Death Duties ought to be regraduated, much more strictly collected, and greatly increased. In this matter we need, in fact, completely to reverse our point of view, and to rearrange the whole taxation of inheritance from the standpoint of asking what is the minimum amount that any rich man should be permitted at death to divert, by his will, from the National Exchequer, which should normally be the heir to all private riches in excess of a quite moderate amount by way of family provision. But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from at any rate the greater part of its new load of interest-bearing

debt for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor Party stands for a special Capital Levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire National Debt—a Capital Levy chargeable like the Death Duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exception of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires.

Most of these proposals have been debated in the realm of practical policies for some years and are being tried in some measure or form. Property holders have become more or less acquainted with taxes on income, excess profits and inheritance, and in some countries with taxes on mineral rights and on the "unearned increment of urban and mineral land." But to propose to meet the war debt by a levy on capital is another matter. That touches the keystone of the present economic structure, and will be labeled at once with the sinister title "Confiscation." But before that word be loosely applied or objected to, the question must be asked whence came this capital that is to be thus appropriated. If it is constituted of profits earned out of the war itself, over and above the cost of maintenance on the scale of luxury, then in the name of common sense and justice why should it not be used to pay off the debts of the war instead of charging them off to the future as a burden upon production. If this indeed be confiscation, it is quite likely, whatever may happen in the United States, that in Great Britain the one-tenth who own nine-tenths of the wealth will shortly have their choice between this form of that remedy for national bankruptcy and one that is much more drastic.

Quite recently the leader of one of the largest labor organizations of Great Britain informed the House of Commons that its members had become very much disillusioned during the war concerning the efficacy of excess profits taxes. He said that labor had discovered that what happens is that the

state, instead of the capitalist, becomes the recipient of what is admitted to be an undue part of the proceeds of its toil, collected at second hand from the employer, and used by the state, in whose control labor is not adequately represented, in other ways than labor would choose to use it. He then served notice on the government that labor was not content to have the state even indirectly appropriate the powers and continue the injustices of the present system of production. This argument is an amplification of the point made in the Labor Party program concerning the exemption from taxation of incomes below the minimum standard. Labor is evidently getting tired of making its financial contribution to the State in vicarious form. It prefers to pay directly and seeks to get into the position where it will be able to do so. Those who object to paying so large a share of the taxes, who grumble, for example, at paying to educate the children of the poor—"let them pay for their own—we do"—would do well to consider the indirect taxation that gets laid upon the labor and consumption of the poor. They might also consider that the difficulty could be met by arranging such a distribution of property and income as to enable direct taxation to be laid over a wider area of the population. The spirit of a humanitarian religion and the spirit of scientific inquiry are joined together in urging the attempt. It will necessarily involve in the transitional stage some injustices to individuals. In an imperfect world they cannot be entirely avoided, but they can and must be reduced to a minimum. Our legal system and ethical code so exalt the rights of private property that most of us are more concerned with justice for the individuals who now hold title to possessions than we are with justice for the multitudes who own only their labor power. If this continues, the injustice to both will in the long run be greater than they need be, in making the adjustment that the need and the ideal alike require. The taxation question

must be settled on the same basis as the question of the national minimum; the primary consideration must be the social development of the entire population. This will include due consideration for the beneficiaries of the present system.

The final pillar which the British Labor Party proposes for the house of the New Social Order is the Surplus for the Common Good.

> In the disposal of the surplus above the Standard of Life society has hitherto gone as far wrong as in its neglect to secure the necessary basis of any genuine industrial efficiency or decent social order. We have allowed the riches of our mines, the rental value of the lands superior to the margin of cultivation, the extra profits of the fortunate capitalists, even the material outcome of scientific discoveries—which ought by now to have made this Britain of ours immune from class poverty or from any widespread destitution—to be absorbed by individual proprietors; and then devoted very largely to the senseless luxury of an idle rich class. Against this misappropriation of the wealth of the community, the Labor Party—speaking in the interests not of the wage-earners alone, but of every grade and section of producers by hand or by brain, not to mention also those of the generations that are to succeed us, and of the permanent welfare of the community—emphatically protests. One main Pillar of the House that the Labor Party intends to build is the future appropriation of the Surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the Common Good.
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> It is in the proposal for this appropriation of every Surplus for the Common Good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor Party, as the Party of the Producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

There is an assumption here whose validity must await experiment. It is not that the expropriation for social purposes of the wealth that is at present used to maintain luxury would immediately provide a national minimum and then a surplus

for other purposes, but that it would operate to that end. One of the gentlemen from Russia who is now trying to secure the support of this nation for the forces that are seeking to overthrow the present government of that country, recently told an American audience that any attempt at a new social order was folly because there never was and never would be enough good things to go around and therefore a few must always enjoy them. Now the men who wrote the British Labor Party program know the exact national income. They well know that neither England nor the United States, the richest countries in the world, are producing enough wealth to give to all their people the minimum standard. What they are counting upon is that with the beginnings of a national minimum and the social use of the surplus wealth that now goes into private fortunes there will commence a development of labor power and an increase in production that will progressively increase like compound interest, enabling the completion of the program and the development of social wealth and welfare such as society has not yet enjoyed. For this assumption they have the justification of the results of such approaches to their program as have already been made.

In England the individual appropriation for luxury purposes of the surplus of production results largely from the individual ownership of the land in the form continued from feudal times. The right to collect rent, transmitted from generation to generation, creates a leisure, luxury class, deprives others of the opportunity to get a minimum standard of life through their toil, and so progressively lowers the capacity of production through generation after generation, and then by stimulating luxury consumption still further limits the productive process.

The people of the United States have not yet appreciated the fact that those who hold the right to charge for the use of the land upon which society depends for food and timber

and minerals have been given the power to tax other people directly and indirectly, and do indeed hold a perpetual mortgage upon the nation's life. This practice has long been held unjust by the common people of Europe and by many teachers of religion. The builders of this nation escaped from oppression in Europe without seeing its roots. They gave the land into individual ownership as a means and guarantee of freedom. They did not foresee the later bondage into which our people would come by the concentration of land ownership. The basic reason for the low condition of life for multitudes of people on the Island of Manhattan is the fact that a few people can tax the life of the rest in the form of rental values. The same holds true for some rural sections, where a tenant population lives continually below the minimum of subsistence.

The proposal of "the surplus for the common good" rests upon two ethical grounds: first, the nature of its origin and, second, the nature of its use. The origin is declared to be the common natural resources and the associated labor power of humanity. Capital wealth is declared to be the common creation just as land is declared to be the common resource. It is held to be not simply the joint product of the laborer and the capitalist but a social product created by the development and coöperation of the whole community. The question of its ownership and administration, whether individual or common and in what degree, is continually to be determined by the community, and all vested personal rights are subject to revision by the community which granted them and sustains them. There is a strong belief here in this country that every man should keep the product of his own labor. Those who hold that to be valid must also grant it for society at large, and should therefore see to it that the community gets the product of its labor, that it does not go to individual ownership.

As long as private enterprise is necessary, and it will be in a large part of our industry for a long time to come and perhaps always, so long will it be necessary for the community to expropriate the surplus wealth acquired by individuals for the community purposes, if it is going to get either the maximum of production or the minimum standard of living. To attain these ends, whatever is necessary to release the energies that now lie dormant at the bottom of society must be done. The lower layers of human life correspond to a lot of undeveloped water power with all its potential energy, its possible light and heat and mechanical power, waiting for people to come and transmute it into innumerable benefits for mankind. It is so with the undeveloped energies of the people who are only half nourished, half educated, and half free. Whatever is necessary and possible for their development, however large a piece of the surplus at the top must be lopped off, it must be done if we are to continue to believe in the right of all men everywhere to life, liberty and happiness or in the duty of the community to develop its maximum power. In this matter the people at the bottom in Europe are making it very clear that the choice is now between the immediate working out of some such program as that of the British Labor Party or the more communistic plans of Eastern and Central Europe, which will suddenly clip life off somewhere near the minimum standard and gamble everything on its ability by coördinated effort to branch out with renewed vigor and beauty.

The case for the common use of the social surplus rests finally upon the end to be achieved. On this ground, rather than on the question of origin, the matter will finally be settled. Does the private ownership of surplus wealth provide better for the extension of industrial enterprise than common capital? Does private wealth with its enormous foundations for philanthropy and education do more for social development than the common administration of its surplus

by the community itself? It can be answered only by laboratory test and this the Labor Party proposes to try.

It is from this constantly arising surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by Nationalization and Municipalization and, on the other, by the steeply graduated Taxation of Private Income and Riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury-exacting financiers. It is from the same source that has to be defrayed the public provision for the Sick and Infirm of all kinds (including that for Maternity and Infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the Aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents and of adults, in which the Labor Party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public provision that the Labor Party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature and fine art, which have been under Capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor Party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production.

The final appeal of this program is thus to the spiritual aspirations of the people. What the present order does to these we know and are not satisfied with it. We desire then to discover what happens to the spirit of man if the development of the common life in its highest reaches is made the real object of industrial endeavor? Will the conflict between the world of work and the world of culture be ended? Will men labor to make a surplus for the common good or only for their own appropriation? Will the productive energy of mankind be increased by giving the common effort the greatest goal that human thought can conceive? At present the affirmations in this direction are of faith, not knowledge. But that faith is

determined to discover whether it is justified. If it is doomed to defeat, it at least must have demonstrated knowledge of its incapacity to translate itself into action.

The British Labor program is not unmindful of international relationships. It reaches out to the street of to-morrow, to join hands with all peoples, and declares itself opposed to all imperialism and selfish isolation.

We look for an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a steadily growing mutual understanding, and a continually expanding friendly coöperation among all the peoples of the world.

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As regards our relations to Foreign Countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to impoverish any other State or Nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of "economic war." We ourselves object to all Protective Customs Tariffs; but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others. We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby.

In conclusion:

The Labor Party is far from assuming that it possesses a key to open all locks; or that any policy which it can formulate will solve all the problems that beset us.

Then comes the final emphasis upon the use of scientific knowledge to make effective the spirit of good-will.

On the other hand, the Labor Party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by Good Will alone. Good Will without knowledge is Warmth without Light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped Science of Society, the Labor Party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps specially the Labor Party that has the duty of placing this Advancement of Science in the forefront of its political programme. What the Labor Party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, Democratic Coöperation; and coöperation

involves a common purpose which can be agreed to, a common plan which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in the adaptation of means to ends as will ensure a common satisfaction. An autocratic Sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A Plutocratic Party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. But no Labor Party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of the best Political Science of its time; or to fulfil its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance. Hence, although the Purpose of the Labor Party must, by the law of its being, remain for all time unchanged, its Policy and its Programme will, we hope, undergo a perpetual development, as knowledge grows, and as new phases of the social problem present themselves, in a continually finer adjustment of our measures to our ends. If Law is the Mother of Freedom, Science, to the Labor Party, must be the Parent of Law.

The distinction of this program is that it combines the clear, white light of science with the rich glow of a passion for the development of the highest that human life can reach, that is truly religious. Herein lies its appeal to the professional workers, and also its challenge. Will science become the servant of privilege or the servant of the common people? That is the question for the educated world to face to-day. Will scientifically trained people devote themselves to the help of their less equipped fellows and the solution of the common social problems or will they seek personal comfort and prestige? It is the day of reckoning for the people of learning. They have to stand before millions of toilers the world over and give answer concerning the use of their talents. They will neither be acquitted nor be able to take due part in the future development of mankind unless they can subordinate the passion for knowledge to the passion for humanity. It is their obligation and privilege to make science the servant of all mankind, ever seeking all that is now unknown and the fullest use of all that is known, so that life may be continually unfolded by the light of knowledge and nourished by the warmth of good will.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

The program of the British Labor Party speaks for those socialists who seek to transform the existing economic order gradually, and rely mainly upon political action. The program of the Russian Soviet Republic speaks for the socialists who seek an immediate economic revolution and rely mainly upon direct, industrial action. Its main features express the demands of the Left Wing of the socialist movement the world over. The Soviet program also speaks on certain important points for the Syndicalists, who are represented in the United States by the I. W. W. Like the program of the British Labor Party, the Russian program was mostly made by the intellectuals; it claims, however, to more closely represent the voice of the working class of Russia because they were technically in control of its formation and development. It must also be remembered that it emerges out of a different stage of economic and political development. The Russian people have had no such training in political democracy as England has enjoyed. Industrial organization does not constitute so large a part of their life, and a good deal of their agriculture has been conducted on a communist or semi-communist basis.

In Russia the political party which at present controls the Soviet Government, the Bolsheviki—meaning the many or the majority—claims to have come to power in the swirl of revolutionary forces because it represented the needs and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Russian population, the "peasants and workers," whereas it insists that

the Menshiviki or minority party spoke more truly for the needs and desires of the very small middle class.

The official title of the government of Central Russia is the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. It declares its fundamental problem to be "the establishment of a socialist society" and also "the victory of Socialism in all lands." Yet it has been, and will be, bitterly opposed by many socialists, both in Russia and in other parts of the world who will oppose it not for its aims but for its methods. In its method, the Russian Soviet Program is the voice of those who call themselves, and actually are, the dispossessed and disinherited of the earth, since its natural resources upon which the common life depends have passed into the control of others. These people are naturally impatient for immediate social change. The wonder is that they have been patient so long. The Soviet program speaks for peasants in Eastern Europe who have been but little better than serfs, and for industrial workers who have been called swine and treated and compelled to live as swine are not in some places treated or compelled to live. Also recent events in Central and Western Europe, and certain tendencies in newer parts of the earth, show that the essential features of the Russian program do express the needs and longings of the lowest stratum of modern industrial society. It is then a voice from below rudely breaking into the conventions of the existing order. The voice of the want underneath all the plenty of life, which society refused to hear when it cried its woes, is now speaking in such fashion that all the world must listen. The present order has been too busy making money to heed the voice of the people at the bottom. It will now be very busy trying to silence or to satisfy that voice, according to its wisdom.

The distinction of the Russian Soviet program, as against any other program for a new order advanced from any other quarter, is that in Russia it has been done. The discussion

has been taken out of the realm of argument and put into the domain of fact. Part of the program of the British Labor Party, like parts of all other programs that various groups are offering for a new world, has been in operation, and of course only parts of the Russian Soviet program have yet been carried out; but the point is that a socialist government, inaugurating a new economic order, has been established and has maintained itself in central Russia for over a year, in spite of an inheritance of chaos from the old régime and the further disruption of economic life by continuous attack from without and from within.

This was an unthinkable thing before 1914, just as the world war was inconceivable. Even now it is apparently just as impossible to the political democracies that a socialist government should successfully operate, as it was impossible to monarchical Europe that revolutionary France could establish a Republic and make it work. But whatever happens to the present Government in Russia from whatever cause, whether it fail because of the tactics of those who control it or because its principles are impossible, whether it be suppressed from without or overthrown from within, the record is written into human history that a government based on a socialist economic system once lived. It is a new event and it remains to teach and to change human life forever after. Because this thing has been done, because the socialist theory has been taken off paper and made to live and move and have a being, all organized life will be quickened by what happens in Russia, by its failure or by its success, by its evil as well as by its good.

The present discussion concerns the paper program and not the practical working of the Soviet government. The latter question is a matter of disputed evidence on both sides and its determination must await more unbiased data and historical perspective. In judging programs for social change

a distinction must be made between aim and method, also between method that is essential to aim and method which is incidental to the situation in which the aim is attempted. What effect the Russian Socialist Republic will have upon human development is, in the long run, to be determined by its aim and by the methods which its programme reveals as essential to the aim, and not by those incidents attendant upon its inception which can be traced to conditioning circumstances more than to the nature of the thing attempted. There is an analogy, as historians have lately been pointing out, between the Russian situation and the French Revolution. In one the main issue was the organization of a new political order, in the other it is the organization of a new economic order. Both were attended by violence, crime and terrorism, in varying degree, determined by contingent circumstances more than by aim and purpose. For this they both earned and secured the moral condemnation of the Anglo-Saxon people, trained in different methods and able to accomplish their purposes with less upheaval. It is interesting now to compare the attitude of those who are charged with teaching the people of this country, the leaders of education and religion, to the French Revolution and to the Russian Revolution. Who of them will denounce the aim and ideal of the French Revolution? Who of them will for a moment support the methods that were in vogue in Paris in revolutionary days? With historical discrimination they separate the temporary method, the incidental circumstance, from the fundamental aim and ideal. They do not teach that the Paris Commune had in it nothing of virtue and value for human society. In proclaiming the contribution of the French Revolution to the development of democracy they do not even find it necessary to denounce its bloody excesses. That goes without saying. Do they apply the same methods to the present situation in Russia? Do they face it with the same sense of obligation to discover and pro-

claim truth, which is the essential, ethical imperative of their profession? Here is a situation which is vital in determining the course of development for other nations, and the people are at the mercy of partisan propaganda from both sides. If the higher education is ever to justify itself by showing the value of the trained mind, now is the opportunity. It is time for the teachers and preachers and writers to demonstrate that it is possible to maintain the scientific attitude not only to the past but also to the present, despite the storm of passion and prejudice and the subtle pressure of class interests.

This issue goes far beyond the question of what is the truth about Russia. There is a conflict growing in the democratic nations between the political state and an economic organization of society. Shall we see something of the same sort of defense of the existing order as the famous, or infamous, ninety-three professors in Germany made of the existing order there, and for the same fundamental reasons? Their offense was not that they stood up for the Fatherland but that they were false to the obligation of their profession by accepting at its face value what their government chose to tell them. They were traitors to science and some of them to religion. The propaganda method of the German State has now become the habit of the democratic governments. They will use it powerfully against any proposed changes, more by suppressing part of the facts than by fabrication. The persons who can get the truth and tell the truth are those who have been trained and set apart for this purpose. The intellectual integrity of the American preaching and teaching profession is absolutely at stake in the rise of the new order. If any of its members do in any part the same thing here which those professors did in Germany they will share their ignominy.

The purposes and aim of The Russian Socialist Federated

Soviet Republic are set forth in Articles One and Two of the Constitution as follows: [1]

ARTICLE ONE

Declaration of Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People

Chapter One

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national Republics.

Chapter Two

3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

a. for the purpose of realizing the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among husbandmen without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

b. all forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all implements whether animate or inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises, are declared to be national property.

c. as a first step towards complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the control by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to assure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

d. with reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet Government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

[1] The translation is that printed by "The Nation," of New York, made from an official printed text, required by law to be posted in all public places in Russia.

e. the transfer of all banks into the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

f. universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.

g. for the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class be disarmed.

Chapter Three

4. Expressing its absolute resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in this present most criminal of all wars, the third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of breaking secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of the peoples.

5. It is also to this end that the third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to enslave hundreds of millions of the toiling population of Asia, of the colonies, and of small countries generally.

6. The third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

Chapter Four

7. The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters can not hold a position in any branch of the Soviet Government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its effort to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide the following question at their plenary sessions of their Soviets:

whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the federal government and other federal Soviet institutions.

ARTICLE TWO

General Provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic

Chapter Five

9. The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing Socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic upon the basis of a federation.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the toilers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing the freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having

thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants, offers assistance, material and other, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize.

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers and the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defense of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in toil and who belong to the toiling class. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formality.

21. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers shelter to all foreigners who seek refuge from political or religious persecution.

22. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, proclaims all privileges on this ground, as well as oppression of national minorities, to be in contradiction with the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

It will be noticed that in contrast to the program of the British Labor Party this program first states its aim negatively. That is because it is the voice of the bottom crowd. British Labor has worked longer at the practical aspects of the problem and become more used to it. Its leaders, with a little more time and ease in life, can afford to take things more dis-

passionately and come at them a little more constructively. But when people revolt against intolerable conditions, they always first express themselves negatively. Injustice is the source of moral indignation, whose social worth is proved when it seeks to cleanse the temple of life. The Russian slogan is abolition first of all; and abolition is always a word to conjure with, whether it is applied to slavery or the liquor traffic, not only because we like to smash things but because sometimes they need to be smashed. There are always perils involved. Smashing things in the name of an ideal, affords an expression for animal instincts as well as for reason.

The "Declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people," which is Article One of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic (Chapter 2, Section 3), states:

> as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands.

The same purpose is stated again in different form, in paragraph D of Section 3, Chapter 2 regarding the annulment of foreign loans:

> The Soviet Government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

This ideal of an organization of human society in which one man shall not exploit another, in which there shall be no controlling and no inferior classes, no privileged groups and none who are undeveloped, is an ideal common to all schools of socialism. Stated thus broadly and negatively in terms of the abolition of exploitation, class control and class privilege, it is also the ideal of many who do not call themselves socialists. It is not a modern ideal; it is an ancient dream. At times it has broken out from the upper ranks of society in the heart and voice of some great prophet who has always been

killed or driven out to become a leader of the many down below. But ever the ideal has grown in the heart and mind of the common people who are the sufferers in a class-divided society in which the strong are able to control and exploit the weak. Is it a valid ideal? Is it the climax of possible equality? It does not mean an equality of capacity for all persons, but it does mean an equality of opportunity of service for all people. Will anybody rise to defend a class-divided society, to defend the control of some men by others to the end that the others may be exploited? What affinity is there between this ideal and the ideal of equality which the democratic state was organized to secure? The question has an immediate practical bearing. If we have decided that it is worth our while to put forth our maximum effort as a nation to see that one group of men shall not be able to rule the rest of the world through an autocratic, militaristic state controlling and using its people for the ends and purposes of its rulers, what then shall be our attitude toward a condition in which small groups of men are able to use the lives of many others for their own selfish ends and purposes through a form of economic organization supported by a democratic state?

These questions have all been raised long before the Russian Soviet Government was organized, but they could then be dismissed as the harmless questions of a few agitators and impossible idealists, who, after all, could never get much influence in a matter-of-fact world. But now the case is entirely different. Now the Western nations must face in the field of practical organization the question of whether or not they will accept or reject this ideal, and what they will do to put it into effect, because having in some sort been put into effect in Russia its methods begin to work their way westward. Every one of our governments must declare themselves very shortly on this issue. The attempted suppression of Soviet governments in Europe, and the attempted suppression of

the discussion of their principles in this country, shows that the issue is understood in some quarters.

Having proclaimed its ideal in negative terms, the Soviet Constitution proceeds to amplify its aims both destructively and constructively. It attempts to remove the economic conditions which its framers believe to be the basis of class division in human society, and the occasion and opportunity for the exploitation of man by man. The constructive aspect of this effort is set forth in Article 5 of the Constitution, entitled The Budget, Chapter 16, Section 79, concerning the financial policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. If they have to say all that every time they speak of the government over there, it is worse than having to get up every time some one takes it into his head to play "The Star Spangled Banner."

> The financial policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic in the present transition period of dictatorship of the proletariat, facilitates the fundamental purpose of expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it sets forth as its task the supplying of the organs of the Soviet power with all necessary funds for local and state needs of the Soviet Republic, without regard to private property rights.

To attempt "the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth," is a much more difficult thing than securing equality in the court and the voting booth. Yet it is the unavoidable task that political democracy has brought the industrial nations. It cannot be worked out by any one nation alone. As long as there is inequality in the production and distribution of wealth in any nation it will limit the attainment of equality in all others, just as the existence of one subject people limits freedom everywhere. Therefore as it was the duty of the free peoples to complete their freedom, so is it the

part of those who have started to seek equality to go wherever the road leads.

The Constitution of the Soviet Republic still further defines what it means by the establishment of a Socialist Society. It proposes to establish the "universal obligation to work" (Article One, Chapter 2, Section 3 f. and Article Two, Chapter 5, Section 18). It also proposes to give the toilers "real freedom of conscience" (Article Two, Chapter 5, Section 14) and freedom of expression (Ibid., Sections 14 and 15); it offers to help them organize (Ibid., Section 17); assumes "the task of furnishing full and free general education" (Ibid., Section 18); offers political rights to alien toilers (Ibid., Section 20); disclaims racial or national privilege or oppression (Ibid., 22, also Article One, Chapter 3, Section 5); and guarantees local self-determination (Ibid., Chapter 4, Section 8). The local organs of the Soviets are also charged to "take all steps towards raising the cultural and economic standard of the given territory" (Article Three, Chapter 12, Section 61 b). The constructive program is further set forth in a number of decrees and orders which cannot here be considered for lack of space, but which provide for a highly articulated economic, social and political organization. All that can here be discussed is the fundamental principles and methods of the Soviet program as it appears on paper. Some indication of the detailed measures can be gained from the following samples, one in the economic, the other in the cultural, realm:

I. All libraries found within the boundaries of the western provinces and front, and belonging to municipalities, public institutions, or organizations of various sorts, or to private persons, are taken over for the benefit of public educational institutions in local Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, and, in the city of Smolensk, by the local section of public education of the provincial commissariat.

II. All institutions, organizations, and private persons possessing libraries in the city of Smolensk must, within five days following the date of the publication of this order in the newspaper *Sovietskaya*

Pravda, present to the commissariat on public education exact information concerning:

(1) the location of the libraries belonging to them;
(2) the number of volumes found in the libraries;
(3) the contents of the libraries (complete catalogues of the books must be presented; and in case such do not exist, then general information concerning the character of the books collected);
(4) the periodical publications subscribed to by the libraries;
(5) the number of subscribers;
(6) the rules adopted for the use of these books.

Note: This order does not affect persons who have libraries consisting of less than 500 volumes, if these libraries are not intended for public readers.

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The Supreme Board of National Economy has now undertaken the organization of the entire business of supplying the agricultural population with agricultural machinery and implements. In order that all this work may be carried out successfully, it is necessary that the Supreme Board of National Economy should have at its disposal exact information about all those establishments which at this moment have already changed or are ready to change to the production of agricultural machinery. Only with all this information at hand will it be possible to organize systematically this branch of national economy, which is most important for the Russian Republic, and to avoid in the future those ills which may be caused by an unorganized change from war production to piece work. Moreover, all the information is necessary for the apportionment of orders for agricultural machines and implements, which the Supreme Board of National Economy will soon place.

In view of what has been said, we urgently request all factory and mill committees and manufacturers, or their organizations, to furnish in writing the most complete information about their establishments which have to do with the manufacture of agricultural machinery, indicating the number of workmen, the machine equipment, and the possible minimum production per month, together with a statement of the machines and implements (type and patent), necessary in rural economy, for which they can take orders.

In view of the exceptional importance of the matter of supplying our rural economy, we respectfully request the provincial papers to reprint this appeal.

It is the negative aim of the Soviet government, "the abolition of the exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of

the division of the people into classes," which has received most attention in the Western nations. Our Ambassador to Russia is reported to have said on reaching Paris that the idea of abolishing the exploitation of one man by another was an insane conception. Such a remark is an interesting revelation of the depth of the diplomatic understanding that has been charged to interpret Russia to the Western world and to interpret Western democracy to Russia. If to desire to end exploitation and class divisions is to be crazy, truly the world is full of madmen. This negative aim of the Russian program is further defined as "the suppression of exploiters" (Article One, Chapter 2, Section 3) and "eliminating the parasitic strata of society" (Ibid f.). The parasites are defined inferentially in orthodox socialist style as those who do not work at socially useful labor and so live off the labor of others. The exploiters are defined inferentially in that section of the Constitution which has to do with the qualifications for suffrage, as those who make profit from the labor of others.

In this part of its aim, the Russian program issues a sharp challenge to the democratic nations. It is attempting to put directly into law and practice an ideal which they have unquestionably held in general terms and sought indirectly to realize. They too have no place for idlers and no liking for exploiters. That they do not approve the Russian way of handling them, does not relieve them of the necessity of dealing with the problem. The British Labor Party seeks to gradually eliminate the parasites and exploiters by its program regarding surplus wealth and the financial system of the nation. As the various labor parties organize, all the other nations will have to consider proposals to this effect. In a deeper sense than President Wilson ever meant or has given any evidence of knowing, Russia is still the acid test of our democracy. Altogether apart from its methods, the Soviet government has raised the issue in practical politics of the difference between

a society wherein all share in the burdens and privileges and a society in which some are permitted special favor and special exemption. There is no compromise possible here, any more than there was possible a compromise with Prussian autocracy. There was a conflict of ethical principles between the autocratic state and the democratic state. They were mutually exclusive. The same thing is true concerning a class-divided social order split by exploitation and one which is solidified by universal mutual service. The absolute conflict between the ethics of strife and power, and the ethics of coöperative service has long been recognized. Now the issue has been joined in the field of action by the organization of the Soviet Government, and in different forms and in varying time it will go to a conclusion throughout the world.

The Soviet Constitution proposes to suppress the exploiters, eliminate the parasites, abolish classes and secure equality in production and distribution by the following methods: the nationalization of the land and other natural resources, of agricultural and industrial enterprise and of banks (Article One, Chapter 2, Section 3, a, b, c and d); the expropriation of private capital (Article Five, Chapter 16, Section 79); the abolition of inheritance;[1] the universal obligation to work

[1] I. Inheritance, whether by law or by will, is abolished. After the death of an owner, the property which belonged to him, whether movable or immovable, becomes the property of the Government of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Federated Republic.

NOTE: The discontinuance and transfer of rights of utilization of farm lands is determined by the rules provided in the fundamental law of the socialization of the land.

II. Until the issuance of a decree dealing with general social arrangements, relatives who are in need (i. e., those who do not possess a minimum maintenance), and who are incapable of work—such relatives being in a directly ascending or descending line, full or half brothers or sisters, or spouse, of the deceased—receive support from the property left by the deceased.

NOTE 1. No distinction is made between the relationship that arises within wedlock and that which arises outside of wedlock.

(Article One, Chapter 2, Section 3 f. and Article Two, Chapter 5, Section 18; the exclusion of exploiters from political office (Article One, Chapter 4, Section 7) and from the franchise (Article Four, Chapter 13, Section 65, a, b, c, r, p); and finally by depriving "all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution" (Article Two, Chapter 5, Section 23). All these provisions are to be enforced during the "transition period," by a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry (Article Two, Chapter 5, Section 9) to be established and maintained by arming the toilers and disarming the propertied class (Article One, Chapter 2, Section 3 g).

Thus the essential methods in the Russian plan for a socialist society are expropriation, nationalization and universal work, in the field of economic action; and in political action the limitation of the franchise and the right to hold office to those performing "labor that is productive and useful to society." This plan differs from the British Labor Party program in the degree and manner of the expropriation and nationalization and in its attempt to immediately establish universal service in socially useful labor under pains and penalties of the loss of citizenship and food. The status of the parasite and the exploiter is eliminated, they are to be transformed into serviceable members of the body politic.

A still more fundamental difference in the realm of method is the reliance placed upon coercion rather than upon reason in establishing and maintaining a socialist society. This can be traced in part to the state of mind induced by the world war, but mostly to the part played by coercion in maintaining

NOTE 2. Adopted relatives or children and their descendants are put upon the same footing as relatives by descent whether as to those who adopted them or as to those who have been adopted.

III. If there is not enough of the property remaining to support a spouse and all surviving relatives, as enumerated above, then the most needy of them must be provided for first.

the old order in Russia. The general historic law seems to be that the methods used in the inauguration of a new order approximate in kind and degree the methods by which the order it replaces was established and maintained. The doctrine of a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat, to accomplish complete democracy by disarming and disfranchising those who object, is foreign to those peoples whose reliance for political and social change is upon reason rather than upon force, and whose procedure permits reason to function unhindered. As long as the procedure for determining and expressing the will of the majority through the methods of political democracy remains open, the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even though that class is a majority, will remain foreign to the Western world because its practice is unnecessary. In the event of resistance to the freely determined will of the majority, however, both the theory and practice of democracy guarantee that such resistance would be suppressed by whatever means were necessary. The only persons who would then have the right to challenge such procedure are those who accept and practice the doctrine of nonresistance. They seek what seems to them a more excellent way. But those who appeal to Cæsar must abide by Cæsar's decision.

Since we are dealing not with the conduct of the Soviet Government but with its written program and its essential social philosophy, we can for purposes of the discussion assume the correctness of the contention of that government that it represents the overwhelming majority of the population in the region that acknowledges its authority. If that be so, the majority has established a dictatorship over the lives and property of the minority. Leaving on one side the assertion that this is an advance over a situation in which a minority is enabled to exercise a dictatorship over the majority, as it did in Russia, and is alleged to do in the democratic nations through

economic control, the real challenge that the Russian method flings at political democracy concerns the rights of the majority. What are they in the present order; what are they in the matter of changing the present order? Inasmuch as the minority in a new order is not likely for a time to get any more rights than a minority in the old order was allowed, even though that was one of the reasons for change,—witness the Puritans—those who desire the maintenance of the present order in this country (who if they are not a majority at least have not a majority against them), had better carefully consider what are majority and minority rights in a time of social change.

Is the rule of the majority necessarily a dictatorship to some degree? Does even the democratic principle permit tyranny, and under what conditions? Evidently that depends upon what the majority does and how it does it, upon what opportunity it gives the minority to express its opinions and to influence the decision of the majority. To prevent the undue denial of that opportunity there is held in reserve the further right of rebellion, so that a minority believing the appeal to reason obstructed may decide to risk its existence upon the appeal to arms. Even though freedom of expression be granted in the fullest possible degree, nevertheless in the long run the minority is subject to a degree of coercion, in that the majority will must be enforced at certain vital points if the state or society is to remain an organized entity. In a democratic community which consents to the principle of majority rule, the minority by implication agrees to submit to that much coercion and would reverse the coercion if it became the majority. The reservation is that the minority retains the right of conscientious objection, to be expressed in passive resistance, when it believes that the policy of the majority is fatal to that solidarity of the state or of society, by virtue of which the right of limited coercion by the majority is claimed.

With this reservation, it is generally accepted as a necessary condition of democratic development that in certain emergencies the majority may deny the minority freedom of expression.

That condition existed here during war time. The Espionage Act suspended rights of the minority previously held essential to democracy. It was justified by many of those who under it surrendered their rights of democracy as a temporary measure, necessary for the existence of democracy itself, precisely the same argument by which the Bolsheviki attempt to justify the temporary suppression of the minority by a dictatorship of the proletariat until such time as the socialist state is established beyond the peril of overthrow from revolution. This position in relation to minority groups is in essence and principle that which our government took by act of Congress for the duration of the war, and which it is proposed in legislation pending before the national and various state legislatures to continue to take now that the war is over. Justification is claimed by the same necessity, namely, the principle that the right of the existence of the state supersedes the right of the minority or of individuals to express themselves. The argument is just as valid in one case as the other; no more, no less. It is to be feared though that it is easier for those who have any property stake in the existing order to apply it on the side of the status quo than on the side of a new régime. But obviously political democracy cannot have it both ways. It must either take the consequence of the economic application of its present doctrine of the rights of the majority or else abandon or modify that doctrine.

As a matter of fact, the suppression of minority rights by the Russian constitution is an undue assertion of majority power as was the recent suppression of those rights in the United States. It is acknowledged in one case by the use of the word dictatorship, and in both cases by the claim that it

is only temporary. It is the fact that matters more than the words, and the Anglo-Saxon has an international reputation for concealing and evading facts by means of words.

Naturally we apply to a new program tests to which we do not hold the existing order. Naturally also those who profess higher ideals than the rest of mankind must submit to this condition; they must give evidence of the faith within them by their works. In this matter of minority rights, the Soviet program is expected to show itself in advance not only of previous conditions in Russia but also of those in the democratic nations, whose democracy it regards as incomplete. In justice to this constitution, however, it must be remembered that it was framed in time of upheaval and war. Whatever the reason, the Soviet Government has made exactly the same denial of its principles in its so-called temporary proscriptions as the democratic states have made in their temporary war-time repression. In both cases it remains to be seen whether they are temporary. We have yet to see whether in Russia or in the United States more democracy can result from the denial of democracy, whether it can be induced to make a larger growth by cutting away a part of its root. That can be done with some plants, but never beyond a certain point. History has little evidence or hope to offer. The dictatorship of Cromwell was responsible to some extent for the extension of liberties in Great Britain, but it allowed more liberty than the monarchy it replaced, and at that is an exceptional case because there are few dictators who pursue their avowed ideal. It is conceivable that the Soviet program might mean advance for Russia, but delay and disaster for a nation with more democratic political development.

The limitation of minority rights has a wider effect upon democracy. It gives unnatural power and life to the party in office and finally makes it impossible to determine what really is the majority will. What is still more serious, it creates the re-

sentment and increases the opposition which prevents the unity it is supposed to guarantee. The question which the Bolsheviki have yet to face is whether the power, which in the name of the proletariat they have taken to themselves for a period, will not in the end inevitably destroy the solidarity which is the ideal of the Soviet Constitution and the assumed justification for the suppression of the political rights of those who do not desire it. In any event, for democratic countries who do not take naturally to either the theory or practice of dictatorship, the challenge of that theory and practice in Russia is that they themselves shall proceed to develop more democracy instead of less. It may be premised as inevitable that if our western nations continue to force the growth of the proletariat until it becomes overwhelming in numbers as it was in Russia, and if the ruling classes continue to deprive that growing proletariat of the means of political expression and of democratic economic organization, their development will take another course than the one it is now following. When the proletariat does become overwhelmingly in the majority and finds itself unable to secure its rights and move toward its ideals by means of political action or economic organization, and in addition has been taught the methods of dictatorship and the means of repression by the ruling classes, it will use those means and methods to establish itself in power and ruthlessly repress those who have oppressed it. Because the relation of revolution to previous repression is like the law of physics that action and reaction are equal and in the opposite direction, progress must be sought by another method than conflict. If political democracy seeks to derive its ultimate sanction from force, it will have to reckon seriously with this program of dictatorship of the proletariat, secured and maintained by the force of arms.

The Russian Constitution assumes that the working class are in the majority and it is on the basis of that assumption

that the right to use force to effect and maintain a new economic order must be considered by those nations whose theory and practice concedes the right of the majority to effect and maintain their political will by whatever means are necessary. The argument of the Soviet Constitution for a Red army and universal military training is the familiar argument for the right to defend an institution which the majority has created. The class war, if it is to be, will be in theory a war of defense, as the only kind of war democracy can consistently wage. It sounds familiar.

If a socialist government is anywhere established by the will of a majority, who, except the non-resisters, can deny the right of that government to use whatever physical force is necessary to maintain and defend itself against revolution from within or attack from without? For those who assume to be leaders of political democracy to claim the right to forcibly assert their will against socialist governments or minorities and then arraign them for using or advocating force is both stupid and hypocritical. It took only the declaration of a general strike in Seattle to call out the machine guns and the troops because it was declared that the strike was a revolutionary movement, and under the same assertion in Winnipeg the forces of the Federal Government were used to suppress a strike. It is the acknowledged right of any established government to defend itself. Autocracy has preached it as a sacred duty and democratic nations have answered with the claim of a superior right and a more sacred duty, because their government rests upon the declared will of the majority. Therefore, to defend it they would use force and yet more force. Now comes the voice of the proletariat making a similar assertion.

It is a significant thing that when once idealists take the path of physical force there is less and less choice of means. In the early days of the war, few people in this country imag-

ined that if we went to war with Germany we could use poison gas. When the Bolshevists first secured control of government in Russia, they announced themselves opposed to capital punishment. It is an historic fact that no people can be more cruel than idealists acting in defense of what they believe to be the truth and the right. Did not holy church torture the heretics with unspeakable cruelties for their own good and for the safety of the world? Remember the excesses of the French Revolution waged in the sacred name of liberty. Consider the fact that we gave Debs ten years in jail for exercising the right of free speech which he believed to be guaranteed by the Constitution, while autocratic Prussia gave Liebneckt four years in jail for high treason. The fact is democracy cannot place its reliance upon force without destroying itself. When force controls the argument, when fear enters, how long is the voice of the people freely uttered? How then can it be determined that those in authority are representing the majority? The régime of force sooner or later enables some special interest to masquerade in the cloak of democracy. A policy that depends upon guns and jails for its enforcement, whether it be in Moscow or in New York, is a policy that is afraid to trust itself to the people.

The democratic state is now in the temper to meet the protagonists of a new economic order in the same manner that it met Prussian autocracy. To the assertion that might made right, it answered that right made might. The right of the free peoples was a bigger right and a greater might than the right of the few who controlled the might of subject peoples. But the case is now different. Suppose that all over the world the crowd below comes demanding what it is passionately convinced is justice, and they are many more than the rest of us, what then becomes of the democratic proposition that the right of the many makes might? This time political democracy gets its own argument flung back in its face, and

it now has to deal not with a decadent autocracy with no moral basis but with multitudes of people pursuing an ideal that has as much moral right to be heard and tried as its own. Again, political democracy cannot have it both ways. It must either pursue the democratic method and permit freedom of discussion and experiment for the new economic order or accept the consequences of the appeal to force. The same holds true for the proponents of a new economic order. Before it is too late, the leaders of the forces on both sides had better consider well whether any other end is to be achieved by throwing the issue into the field of force save a war of extermination.

The Soviet Constitution proposes to use coercion to enforce the universal obligation to work and quotes Scripture as its authority:

> The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work." (Article Two, chapter 5, Section 18.)

In those Christian countries where a leisure class exists by right of acquisition and inheritance, it has been customary to proclaim this principle of Scripture, but to apply it only at one end of society. Many of our states arrest those who are without visible means of subsistence as vagrants. In some Western states one of the means of providing an income for certain office holders is a Vagrancy Law, whereby they may arrest any person found upon the street who has not a certain sum of money in his pocket. Of course the law is judiciously applied. The arresting officer is entitled to a fee for each arrest made, which fee comes out of the fine to be paid or worked out in jail by the person arrested. I have personally known men to be arrested for being without visible means of support, a few hours after being discharged from jail where they had worked out a sentence for vagrancy. Thus they

were a continuous source of income to the officers. Some states which acknowledge a degree of humanitarian impulse have attempted to modify what has been an obvious abuse of such provisions, by requiring that the arrests which any officer may make in any year shall be limited to the number whose fees amount to a specified salary. So the officers are vigorous in enforcing the vagrancy law for the first few months of the year until their stipulated salary has been thereby earned, and after that the community looks in vain for protection from much more serious offences than being without a certain sum of money.

Thus is the principle that work is an obligation applied in a democratic capitalistic society. The socialist democratic society applies the principle universally and requires that the vagrants at both ends of society shall perform some socially useful labor. An attempt in the same direction was made here through "work or fight" regulations during the war. This seems to persons of private means a very unjust proceeding, forgetting the fact that such an instance as I have just cited and many others, seem to the proletariat very unjust proceedings. Ethical judgments vary a good deal with the point of view. I recently had read to me some parts of a letter from a man occupying a very responsible position in a large corporation, who, in order that he might better perform his duties, has gone out to take his chance of work like any other common laborer. He wants to find out what unemployment really means to a man. The first letter he writes as a day laborer seeking work gives some very different views concerning the effect of unemployment upon a man's attitude to society than he had ever before expressed in his life.

Traditionally the American people have always had a stern attitude towards the leisure class, we have never had very much use for them in our economy. We have a tradition of the dignity of socially useful labor and an ideal of service.

This has been to a certain extent a saving grace against the demoralizing influence of the tremendous increase of our national wealth under a system which concentrates that wealth in the hands of a few. The result is that a very large proportion of those who have received an undue share of the national wealth and who are thereby practically exempt from the necessity of any socially useful labor, do yet consider it their duty to try to discover some useful labor with which they may occupy their time. While some of the attempts are not without humor, yet nevertheless they are an exhibition of a fundamentally sound social principle. If the principle of universal work is approved as a traditional obligation, what objection is there to endeavoring to work it into the organization of society, as long as it be done without injustice to those who have heretofore been the beneficiaries of a situation which has exempted them from any obligatory toil? But the word injustice must be construed in a relative sense. There have been a good many tears shed in print over the sight of former members of the Russian aristocracy selling papers on the streets of Petrograd. It is an occasion for tears to have any one selling papers on the streets of any city, but no more in the case of a Russian aristocrat than that of an American boy or girl who ought to be learning a constructive occupation. What is justice for the idle rich must be considered and determined in relation to what is justice for the wrongly employed poor.

Some people have been trying to support the universal obligation to work by quoting another line of Scripture to the effect that man shall "earn his bread in the sweat of his brow." That was put down as a supposed penalty for Adam's transgression, and it is plain to see that it was written from the aristocratic leisure class point of view. With all our belief in the value and virtue of work, we are also victims of a tradition and still more of a practice, which has made the earning

of daily bread by the sweat of the brow for the most part a disagreeable performance. How many people really find pleasure in their occupation? The sooner we make work not only a duty, as the Soviet Government is trying to do, but a pleasurable duty, the better for all of us. There needs to be taken from common labor not only the improper social stigma but also its disagreeable, monotonous features. The intellectuals, in some measure, have found emancipation from the monotony of the daily round and common task, and have entered into more pleasurable fields of activity. They cannot afford to forget that there are literally millions of people to whom labor is a disagreeable necessity or a dull routine, who wait and long for the day of their emancipation to toil for nobler ends. If those who are educated object to the measures proposed for this purpose, it is for them to secure such readjustment and reorganization of the necessary labor of human society as shall compel nobody to do unnecessarily dangerous and arduous or monotonous toil, require all to work who are able, and permit everybody to find some joy in his working. Since society does not exist save by the toil of its members, since it has no sustenance, let alone wealth, until productive energy is applied to its natural resources, by what right and to what end shall any claim exemption from that common toil of mind and body which is necessary to the common life?

The main measure advanced by the Soviet Constitution for enforcing the universal obligation to work and thereby eliminating the "parasitic strata" of society and transforming the exploiters into social servants, is the limitation of the franchise and office-holding to those who maintain themselves by "labor that is productive and useful to society." Practically and ethically, this means of enforcing the obligation to work rests upon the same ground as the obligation itself. Since society exists by virtue of the common fund of constructive effort, and since the condition of the individual depends upon the

results of that common fund, why should those who bear no part of the common burden of society share in its control? In abstract form the proposal is sound enough, with some qualifications for the incapacitated. The social value of it, however, as well as its justice, will be determined by its interpretation and application. Here are the specifications of the Constitution:

ARTICLE FOUR

The Right to Vote

Chapter Thirteen

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

a. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping, which enables the former to do productive work, i. e., laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc.; and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

b. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

c. Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note 1: Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2: Non-citizens mentioned in Paragraph 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

a. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

b. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

c. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

d. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Okhrana [Czar's secret service], also members of the former reigning dynasty.

f. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

g. Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offenses, for the period fixed by the sentence.

It will be noticed that the housekeeping service of women is specifically mentioned as a qualification for the franchise, and that provision is made for the incapacitated; also that those who are excluded on general principle are the "parasitic" persons "who have an income without doing any work," and the exploiters who "employ hired habor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits." The latter term indicates a perception of the fact that under the present economic system a part of profits is the due return for the service of management, and also that in setting up a socialist economic order, some time will necessarily elapse before some other method of financial return can universally obtain. The disqualifying of "private merchants, trade and commercial brokers" may be assumed to represent a judgment that their functions are unnecessary to a socialist society, while the disfranchisement of monks and clergy may be assumed, along with that of the former police, gendarme corps, secret service and former reigning dynasty, to arise out of the former connection between the Russian State and the Russian Church. Necessarily the judgment as to what is "labor that is productive and useful to society" will have to depend upon social experience, whose services as a teacher are commonly reported to come high, whereas the guidance of prejudice is both cheap to begin with and easy to follow.

Some comprehension of the attitude of the Soviet Government toward intellectual labor may be gathered from the following extracts from one of its decrees, also by considering Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 15, 17, and 30 of the Regulation on p. 265.

DECREE REGARDING GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Taking into consideration on the one hand the idleness which for various reasons exists among printers, and on the other the scarcity of books, the People's Commission on Education, through its literary publishing department and in coöperation with the departments of education outside the schools, school departments, and departments of science and art, and with the assistance of representatives of the printers' union and other interested societies, as the Commission shall see fit, and of experts specially invited by it, shall immediately undertake extensive publication.

First in order must come a cheap popular edition of the Russian classics. Those works for which the period of authors' rights has ended must be republished.

The works of all authors thus transferred from private to public ownership may, by a special order of the National Commissioner on Education regarding each author, be declared a Government monopoly, for a period, however, not exceeding five years. The Commission is to make use of this right with regard to those literary celebrities whose works, in accordance with this law, become the property of the people.

The publication of these works may be arranged in two series:

A complete scientific edition, the editorship of which should be entrusted to the department of Russian language and letters of the Academy of Sciences (after its democratization and adaptation to the new governmental and public life of Russia);

An abbreviated edition of selected works. Each selection is to constitute a single, compact volume. In the selection the editor is to be guided, among other considerations, by the suitability of the works to the working people, for whose benefit these popular editions are intended. Both the entire collection and separate, more important works are to be accompanied by prefaces by authoritative critics, historians of literature, etc. To edit these popular publications a special college should be created of prominent representatives of educational, literary, and scientific societies, specially invited experts, and delegates of workmen's organizations. Editors, confirmed by this Commission of Publication Control, must present to that body their plans of publication together with their commentaries of every description.

The popular edition of classics is to be sold at cost, and, if means shall permit, even below cost, and may even be given free through the libraries which serve the working democracy.

In order to undertake immediately this important public business of the Soviet of People's Commissaries, it is proposed to appropriate and place at the disposal of the Government Commission on Education the sum of a million and a half rubles.

The disqualification of certain classes from the right to vote and to hold office at once raises the question of equality. Here is a constitution proclaiming more democracy and consequently more equality than the constitutions of politically democratic states. Is it then justified, either morally or practically, in making this franchise limitation, either in the light of its own ideals or comparatively against other democratic systems? The former question would seem to be answered as long as the franchise can be acquired by those who have been disfranchised on equal terms with all other citizens. The latter question resolves itself into asking would the Soviet Constitution, accepted at its face value and honestly worked, result in a wider franchise in Russia than exists in other democratic states, most of whom are now criticising its particular franchise qualification? According to the commonly accepted figures, this plan would give the franchise to about ninety per cent of the population of Russia of voting age, whereas no other state in the world has yet enfranchised more than about seventy-five per cent of its population. A nation which disfranchises negroes, legally or practically, which disfranchises a large proportion of its women, which maintains property qualifications for suffrage directly or indirectly, as do the governments of Great Britain and the United States in some measure, cannot with good grace criticise the Soviet Government for lack of democracy on this score. The reason for the criticism of course, is that the Soviet Government disfranchises different classes from those whom the Western democracies disfranchise, classes whom they have been holding in more or less regard and honor and whom the Soviet Government considers not to be socially useful to a sufficient extent to warrant their sharing in the control of government.

In his "American Commonwealth" Bryce describes the corrupt régime in New York City, and he offers the judgment that one of the causes of its tremendous graft and corruption

was that the wealthy and upper classes did not have sufficient interest in the government, the classes which are best equipped to render intelligent and efficient administration. The Russian Soviets reverse that judgment absolutely; they challenge it as an unwarranted assumption, and proceed to demonstration, one way or the other. It is then small wonder that their world seems topsy-turvy to those who have always accepted without question the superiority of the people who win their way to the top in a class-divided society, the main goal of which is the acquisition of wealth.

Among the intellectuals, the preachers appear to have a special grievance against the Soviet Constitution. If the disfranchisement of monks and clergy does reflect a socialist judgment concerning the worth of the church and not simply a Russian need to prevent ecclesiastical intrigue in politics, it is time for the ministry everywhere to reëxamine its social status. Its value and authority will not be assumed and assured in the new order as it was in the old. Its place is to be won. The church is now on trial before democracy concerning its social worth. In a democratic society, in which socially useful labor becomes the object of distinction and the qualification for citizenship, it is obligatory upon the preachers to demonstrate to the community that their vocation is socially useful. If they cannot so prove, the sooner the function of the ministry is changed, the better for the preachers and for society. The root of the matter is economic dependence. Is the ministry better or worse off by being exempted from the ordinary pursuits of life as a means of livelihood and being paid for its particular vocation? It is an open question to what extent prophets can truly prophesy if they must subsist by their prophecy. It is significant that the really great prophets of Israel did not live by their speech, but their voice came up out of some other calling. The ministry may find it necessary to differentiate its teaching and service function

from its prophetic function. The history of missions, and of the relations of a few preachers with socialists who have been hostile to the church, shows that the social worth of the ministry can be demonstrated to an antagonistic community by the proper performance of its teaching and service functions. It may then come about in a socialist society that the ministry would, by the franchise of the community, be democratically set apart from other occupations for a specific teaching and social service function. They would live by that socially useful labor rather than by their preaching. It might then be that preaching would become more socially useful because more prophetic, as a result of its freedom from economic control. As the reduction of the hours of necessary labor makes cultural pursuits more widely possible, there will be a wider range as well as greater liberty of prophetic speech. If on the other hand, the ministry continues to be dependent upon financial support by voluntary organizations, it may in the same manner demonstrate its social worth and right to citizenship. In any event it does not shear the preacher of political influence to disfranchise him. Many of them are now not making much use of the franchise. They are not likely to have as much political influence in the capacity of voters or members of a political party as they have in the capacity of preachers. If a man has a voice in a community, he probably will exert that amount of political influence which the social worth of his message justifies.

If society decrees that socially useful labor is the qualification for citizenship, what is socially useful labor will have to be determined in the long run by majority opinion. That the majority will blunder is inevitable, particularly in its estimate of the worth of intellectual processes in which the common people have not participated and whose immediate bearing upon social progress is not obvious. Because the intellectuals have unduly depreciated the common toil of life all through

the centuries, they need not be surprised if now for a time the toilers fail to properly estimate the social value of the intellectuals. The degree of error here is likely to be proportionate to the degree of error the educated classes have manifested in their attitudes toward manual and machine labor. The amount of future blunder may therefore be reduced by those who are now in charge of the intellectual interests of society. They obviously have it in their power to shorten the period of experimentation by which democracy will determine its scale of occupational values. We have already started on that path in this country. We have decreed certain occupations to be socially detrimental; for instance: gambling, prostitution and now the liquor traffic. On grounds of social welfare, we have outlawed, one by one, these ignoble occupations which in other times have been ancient and honorable callings. The process is not going to be stopped at the present point. It is inevitable, with the increase of social knowledge and of the capacity for ethical judgments upon what human welfare really is, that we shall decree certain other occupations to be socially detrimental. It is necessary now for those who live purely by speculation to attempt to justify their social worth. In war-time, we distinguished between essential and non-essential industries, and are likely to continue that process. If not, it will some day be revived.

The significance, for political development, of the creation of a service qualification for the franchise lies in the recognition of a change in social values. In the democratic nations the qualification for the franchise has been either property or literacy, or sex. The property qualification for the franchise has not yet been abolished in England; it is not yet totally abolished in this country. In both countries, the disproportionate share of the property class in political control has long been a matter of common knowledge. Up to the present time, the House of Commons has been elected by a franchise

which deprived millions of workmen of the right to vote. The migratory workers of this country, no small army, are almost universally disfranchised by our voting requirements. It is evident that a society which directly or indirectly makes property ownership the qualification for political power and political control is affirming its judgment that property is the most desirable possession of life and its acquisition the most beneficial social function. If it is not affirming the value of property as against productive energy, it is at least affirming the superiority of the energy that acquires property over that which does not.

Now comes a new order which changes these values and asserts that the most valuable and vital thing to human society is not property, but productive energy. Lincoln said something of the same sort when he was discussing, with that prophetic vision which was his, the conflict impending in this country between labor and capital. He declared that here was a greater struggle for human freedom than that in which he was called upon to take part, and exhorted those who love democracy always to remember that labor is antecedent to capital and therefore must always have the prior consideration. Lincoln was not talking about labor organizations or parties, but about the obvious social fact that, to get any wealth whatever, society depends upon the productive energy of mankind applied to the natural resources. Therefore in its scale of values society must put personality above things, the making of people above the making of dollars, and in its organization must see to it that the ability to produce social values is rated higher than the ability to acquire personal possessions.

It is natural that this fundamental change in social values should come with the rise of the working class to power, partly because they have not much property, but largely because they have secured their sustenance by productive labor, and

their social development by continually exchanging between themselves human services. Therefore, they may be able to put service in its proper place in the organization of society. The question is, when they get power proportionate to their strength, will they then be suborned of their ideal and subverted from their purpose by weaknesses common to all flesh? Will the possessive instinct and the instinct for power, which develop the predatory spirit, control them as they have controlled other classes before them who have given promise of emancipating society along with themselves from the bondage of a selfish order? It is not fair for the liberal intellectuals to leave the rising working class to answer that question alone and then condemn them both now and in history because they fail to find the right answer. Manifestly those who have been educated in the higher learning should know the real values of life and should strenuously seek to impart that knowledge to the working class. But these values cannot be taught merely by words; they have to be demonstrated in life and by deed. The word is life only when it becomes flesh.

The further questions raised by the general policies of the Soviet Constitution are whether its program of expropriation gives any evidence of the spirit of justice and whether its program of nationalization shows any appreciation of the need for efficiency. Any serious change in the social structure involves a change in property values and in vested rights to income. This is called expropriation by those who benefit from the process and confiscation by those who suffer. It is the unwillingness to face this issue that keeps so much of our social program running around in a circle from one reform to another, all with no outlet unless property interests are handled, as for example, the matter of securing good health and housing for the tenement population. For the same reason, the attempts to get a better social standard for wage-earners by raising wages without touching the right to profits and

dividends results only in higher prices, and the dog proceeds to chase his tail. In some matters the issue has been faced. We have recognized that we cannot get rid of the liquor traffic on the ground that it is not socially useful, without some interference with the property values of the people whose money is invested in the brewing and distilling interests and in the saloons. This is plainly expropriation, and it has been done.

It is required of the majority when it decides to make such changes, that it shall make them with the least possible injustice to those who, in any event, must suffer by the change. England expropriated by law a lot of the property of the landlords in Ireland and redistributed it among the peasants on certain terms. The landlords were paid for it by the State; the peasants bought it on easy terms from the State. It cost the State a good deal. Great Britain reimbursed the slaveholders when she set free the slaves. We did not. If the majority decides that it is not socially just, when all interests are compared, to pay compensation for property or values expropriated, it is then under obligation to see that those who are dispossessed shall have opportunity to secure a proper living by socially useful toil, and if that cannot be done to provide for them a proper maintenance. This is required alike by the principle of proportionate equality and by the social welfare. In all probability, in the Western world, the process of expropriation which now impends in greater or less degree, will proceed by a combination of both methods. There will be some compensation for values expropriated and some application of the pension plan to those deprived suddenly of the means of maintenance for their leisurely existence. If the training and the opportunity for useful labor can be provided the leisure class in the day when they are dispossessed, the gain will be theirs as well as that of society. On the day of change, however, it cannot be done to any further degree

than it is done before then for those who are anxious to work. Therefore, the leisure class have a stake in providing now against unemployment and for adequate vocational education. It is practically certain that the manner and method of expropriation in any country will approach the manner and method with which those dispossessed have held and handled their property. It will also be determined by the attitude of the property interests toward the discussion of the proposed change. These factors played some part in determining the difference of method in settling the slavery issue between this country and Great Britain. A property class that is seeking to discover social justice will get more justice in the day of change than one that has ridden rough shod and contemptuously over the needs of the people. It is possible to settle even this explosive matter in the spirit of accommodation without serious injustice. Give and take is better than take, for all concerned, but it must begin at the give end. There is an essential spirit of fairness in the common run of humanity which will function until it is distorted by the pressure of gross injustice. Again the spirit and temper of the new order will be conditioned by the spirit and temper of the old.

The attitude of the Soviet Government toward those whose property has been nationalized is to some extent indicated by the following extracts from the decrees and regulations, though they afford no information concerning the expropriation of capital in the taking over of banks and industries except that the decree for Nationalization of Banks, states: "The interests of the small depositors will be safeguarded."

ARTICLE 1. All property rights in the land, treasures of the earth, waters, forests, and fundamental natural resources within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic are abolished.

ARTICLE 2. The land passes over to the use of the entire laboring population without any compensation, open or secret, to the former owners.

. . . . . .

ARTICLE 8. All persons who are unable to work and who will be deprived of all means of subsistence by force of the decree socializing all lands, forests, inventoried property, etc., may receive a pension (for a lifetime or until the person becomes of age), upon the certification of the local courts and the land departments of the Soviet power, such as a soldier receives, until such time as the decree for the insurance of the incapacitated is issued.

. . . . . .

ARTICLE 14. All citizens engaged in agricultural work are to be insured at the expense of the state against old age, sickness, or injuries which incapacitate them.

ARTICLE 15. All incapacitated agriculturists and the members of their families who are unable to work are to be cared for by the organs of the Soviet power.

. . . . . .

The answer to the violence of grain owners toward the starving poor must be violence toward the bourgeoisie.

Not a pood should remain in the hands of those holding the grain, except the quantity needed for sowing the fields and provisioning their families until the new harvest.

. . . . . .

If the property of the deceased does not exceed 10,000 rubles, or in particular consists of a farm house, domestic furniture, and means for economic production by work, in either city or village, it comes under the immediate control of the spouse and relatives enumerated in Article II of the present decree, who are present. The method of control and management of the property is arranged by agreement between the spouse and relatives, and, in case of their disagreement, by the local tribunal.

The program of expropriation formulated in Russia raises a question concerning the ideal of social democracy. Is it leveling up or leveling down? We answer at once, leveling up. We want the general standard of life raised, not lowered. Then comes another question. In the world as it now is, can there be a general leveling up without some leveling down? Is a maximum as well as a minimum wage necessary? If it is necessary to cut off at the top in order to build up at the bottom, where must that pruning stop? The tendency of all of us is to try to stop it at our level or just above. To those who have one hundred thousand dollars a year it seems the height

of injustice that the maximum should be lower than that; to those who have an income of ten thousand, it would seem plain robbery to place the maximum below ten thousand, and to those who are trying to maintain a family in New York on three thousand a year it would appear outrage as well as robbery to say that none should receive more than three thousand dollars. Yet if the universal minimum standard is to be secured, some point will have to be determined above which incomes may not go. Difficult as the practical question is, the real difficulty is in the spirit of approach, on both sides, and particularly on the part of those who now have more than a fair standard of living. To them the longing of the people below that standard to get more life is a challenge to sacrifice. Can any new life come without it? Service to the common good which is not sacrificial, contributes no regenerating or redemptive force to social endeavor. It contributes a vast amount of necessary social improvement, but the regeneration which is necessary for the new order cannot come unless the service spirit touches the heights of sacrifice. Until the will to sacrifice is present, service does not become redemptive. If a new order is to come by force alone, it may be new in form but it will have no new life. If it can come in part because those whom the old order benefits are yet willing to pay the price of the new so that others may benefit, it will indeed bring new life to the world.

The degree to which the Soviet program of nationalization recognizes the need for efficiency may be gathered from the following extracts:

REGULATION CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS

PART I

1. The Central Administration of Nationalized Undertakings, of whatever branch of industry, assigns for each large nationalized undertaking technical and administrative directors, in whose hands are placed

the actual administration and direction of the entire activity of the undertaking. They are responsible to the Central Administration and the Commissioner appointed by it.

2. The technical director appoints technical employees and gives all orders regarding the technical administration of the undertaking. The factory committee may, however, complain regarding these appointments and orders to the Commissioner of the Central Administration, and then to the Central Administration itself; but only the Commissioner and Central Administration may stop the appointments and order of the technical director.

3. In connection with the Administrative Director there is an Economic Administrative Council, consisting of delegates from laborers, employees, and engineers of the undertaking. The Council examines the estimates of the undertaking, the plan of its works, the rules of internal distribution, complaints, the material and moral conditions of the work and life of the workmen and employees, and likewise all questions regarding the progress of the undertaking.

4. On questions of a technical character relating to the enterprise the Council has only a consultative voice, but on other questions a decisive voice, on condition, however, that the Administrative Director appointed by the Central Administration has the right to appeal from the orders of the Council to the Commissioner of the Central Administration.

. . . . . .

7. Depending on the size and importance of the enterprise, the Central Administration may appoint several technical and administrative directors.

8. The composition of the Economic Administrative Council of the enterprise consists of (a) a representative of the workmen of the undertaking; (b) a representative of the other employees; (c) a representative of the highest technical and commercial personnel; (d) the directors of the undertaking, appointed by the Central Administration; (e) representatives of the local or regional council of professional unions, of the people's economic council, of the council of workmen's deputies, and of the professional council of that branch of industry to which the given enterprise belongs; (f) a representative of the workmen's coöperative council, and (g) a representative of the Soviet of peasants' deputies of the corresponding region.

. . . . . .

15. For the consideration of the declarations of the Economic Administrative Council concerning the activity of the directors of the undertaking at the central administration of a given branch of industry, a special section is established, composed one-third of representatives of general governmental, political, and economic institutions of the proletariat, one-

third of representatives of workmen and other employees of the given industrial branch, and one-third of representatives of the directing, technical and commercial personnel and its professional organizations.

. . . . . .

17. A Central Administration [Principal Committee] for each nationalized branch of industry is to be established in connection with the Supreme Council of the National Economy, to be composed one-third of representatives of workmen and employees of a given industrial branch; one-third of representatives of the general proletariat, general governmental, political, and economic organizations and institutions (Supreme Council of National Economy, the People's Commissioners, All-Russian Council of Professional Unions, All-Russian Council of Workmen's Coöperative Unions, Central Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's Delegates) and one-third of representatives of scientific bodies, of the supreme technical and commercial personnel, and of democratic organizations of all Russia (Council of the Congresses of All Russia, coöperative unions of consumers, councils of peasants' deputies).

. . . . . .

30. When nationalization is introduced, whether of the entire branch of the industry or of separate enterprises, the Central Administrations are permitted, in order to facilitate the change, to pay to the highest technical and commercial personnel their present salaries, and even, in case of refusal on their part to work and the impossibility of filling their places with other persons, to introduce for their benefit obligatory work and to bring suit against them.

Finally there is the question of the political machine whereby these economic changes are to be worked out in Russia. This machine gives evidence of that profound distrust of political democracy which may be found in the utterances of the men who designed it. One of their current phrases is that western democracy is moribund, that it has not the power to contribute anything further to the progress of the race. But it is interesting to see that along with the declaration of distrust of political democracy there comes the creation of an extremely complicated political machine. It is interesting also to note that this machine corresponds in large degree to our own.

There is a series of legislative bodies, at the top of which is the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, corresponding to our

national Congress. This Congress elects the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, of not more than 200 members which between the sessions of the Congress is the "supreme legislative, executive and controlling organ" of the Republic, directing all the functions that are included in our scheme of political activities, and many more for the economic and cultural development of the nation. We have nothing to parallel that, unless it would be our congressional committees which sometimes arrogate to themselves the power of legislation. The Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars, which with its departments, corresponds roughly to our cabinet. This is the administrative body, but unlike our cabinet it is directly under the control of the Executive Committee. Also the Commissars each have an advisory Committee, appointed by the Council, whose members may complain of their decisions to the Council or to the Executive Committee.

The rest of the political machine again falls very closely into line with ours. Corresponding somewhat to our state legislatures and to our county and city governments, there are congresses of Soviets, regional, provincial, county and rural, composed of representatives of the local Soviets. Therefore the members of the congresses are not elected by the direct vote of the people, but by the vote of the next lower body. It is therefore an ascending scale of delegated powers with all the perils of that system from which Western democracy has been trying so hard to escape. At the bottom of the pyramid are the local Soviets, which differ in the basis of representation. In cities there is one deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; all other settlements, towns, villages, hamlets, etc., of less than 10,000 inhabitants receive one deputy for each 100, the total to be not less than 3 nor more than 50 for each settlement. The term of office is only three months. "In small rural sections, whenever possible, all questions shall be decided at general

meetings of voters," which is practically the New England town meeting. In the cities the deputies are elected from professional and working-class organizations, so that the basis of representation is occupational rather than geographical. The whole scheme appears on the accompanying chart prepared by Jerome Davis for some time in charge of Y. M. C. A. work in Russia.

The general powers and functions of the national bodies appear in the following extracts from the Constitution:

24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is the supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

. . . . . .

29. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

30. In the periods between the convocation of the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme power of the Republic.

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive, and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

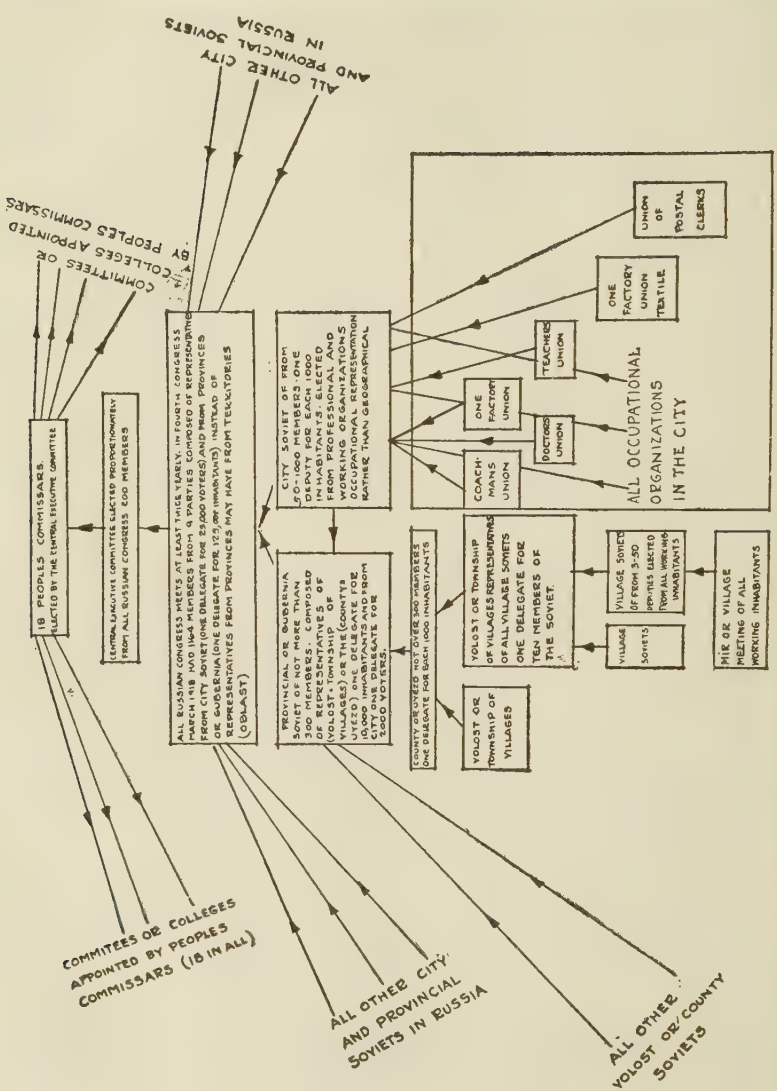
32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee directs in a general way the activity of the workers' and peasants' Government and of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it coördinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolutions of the All-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet power.

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

. . . . . .

37. The Council of People's Commissars is entrusted with the general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

This system must be judged as a machine for economic as well as political administration. For that reason, if it repeats the tendency of political democracy toward delegated gov-


ALL OTHER CITY AND PROVINCIAL SOVIETS IN RUSSIA
COMMITTEES OR COLLEGES APPOINTED BY PEOPLES COMMISSARS
18 PEOPLES COMMISSARS. ELECTED BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ELECTED PROPORTIONATELY FROM ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS 200 MEMBERS
ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS MEETS AT LEAST THICE YEARLY. IN FOURTH CONGRESS MARCH 1918 HAD 1164 MEMBERS FROM 9 PARTIES COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM CITY SOVIET (ONE DELEGATE FOR 25,000 VOTERS) AND FROM PROVINCES OR GUBERNIA (ONE DELEGATE FOR 125,000 INHABITANTS) INSTEAD OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM PROVINCES MAY HAVE FROM TERRITORIES (OBLAST)
CITY SOVIET OF FROM 500-1000 MEMBERS. ONE DEPUTY FOR EACH 1000 INHABITANTS. ELECTED FROM PROFESSIONAL AND WORKING ORGANIZATIONS OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION RATHER THAN GEOGRAPHICAL
PROVINCIAL OR GUBERNIA SOVIET OF NOT MORE THAN 300 MEMBERS. COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF (VOLOST-TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES) OR THE (COUNTY'S UYEZD) ONE DELEGATE FOR 10,000 INHABITANTS AND FROM CITY ONE DELEGATE FOR 2000 VOTERS.
COUNTY OR UYEZD NOT OVER 300 MEMBERS ONE DELEGATE FOR EACH 1000 INHABITANTS
VOLOST OR TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES
VOLOST OR TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL VILLAGE SOVIETS ONE DELEGATE FOR TEN MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET.
VILLAGE SOVIETS
VILLAGE SOVIETS OF FROM 3-50 DEPUTIES ELECTED FROM ALL WORKING INHABITANTS
MIR OR VILLAGE MEETING OF ALL WORKING INHABITANTS
UNION OF POSTAL CLERKS
ONE FACTORY UNION TEXTILE
TEACHERS UNION
ONE FACTORY UNION
DOCTORS UNION
COACHMANS UNION
ALL OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CITY
COMMITEES OR COLLEGES APPOINTED BY PEOPLES COMMISSARS (18 IN ALL)
ALL OTHER CITY AND PROVINCIAL SOVIETS IN RUSSIA
ALL OTHER VOLOST OR COUNTY SOVIETS

ernment and toward over-centralization, the consequences will be even more disastrous to the people. There is evidence of an attempt to avoid these dangers by leaving large powers to local soviets, by the use of the recall to the extreme limit, by the subordination of administrative officials to the legislative bodies, and by maintaining the constant stimulus and check of technical experts upon the administration, exactly as was done here in war-time through numerous boards organized to coördinate the industrial functions of the nation. With all this, the removal of power from its source, through an ascending series of delegated bodies is liable to overcome the quickening effect of the enlarged control of their own affairs given to the people by the local Soviet.

The significant features of the Soviet system are the requirement of socially useful labor as the qualification for the franchise, the occupational basis of representation, and the fact that it is designed for economic rather than political purposes. Associated with all the Soviet bodies are Boards of National Economy, Local, Regional and National, whose duty it is to coördinate and promote the economic life of the nation. This system is an attempt to make political activity the expression of economic life rather than to superimpose government upon economic affairs, which is the ordinary approach of the democratic state to social reform. Whether occupational representation will create another set of conflicting interests equally as disruptive as present class antagonisms is an open question. Whether democracy is to develop by means of a centralized federation of geographic political units attempting to regulate the vital functions of the people, or by the federation of a number of self-governing economic units gradually acquiring the democratic control of all the functions of life, is the immediate political question now confronting the Western peoples. The Soviet Government attempts an answer to that question whose value cannot now be determined.

CHAPTER IX

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations is the contribution of political democracy to the attempt to get a new world order. The political idealists of the Western world saw in it the promise of a new heaven and a new earth. Then they proceeded to fashion a legal instrument to settle international disputes, and to tell the people that the millenium had dawned. In this country in particular, because of our incorrigible habit of thinking of the affairs that are common to all the people only in terms of political association, we are inclined to welcome any kind of international agreement as the dawn of a new era. But new life does not emanate from political arrangements. They are at best but an indication of its presence, one of the forms through which it finds expression. What must be determined then, is whether the present League of Nations is animated by the spirit of the old order or the new. The extent to which it is an improvement of the machinery of the old order is not under discussion here. Our inquiry is whether the League of Nations is the beginning of a new world order, in all the vital associations of life, as well as in political matters. It is of course in the latter field that it must first be judged, for there it has staked its claim.

It would mean a new order in international relations if the spirit and method of democracy prevailed. But if the League of Nations is to be the instrument of democracy in world affairs, it must be a League of Peoples, not of governments; it must be a universal association in which the principle of equality between the peoples composing it prevails. It was

because the purpose and the first plans of the League of Nations had in them the promise of a really democratic association of free peoples that the labor and socialist parties of Europe gave their support to the idea to attempt to embody it in fact, although they had no illusions as to the amount of social change to be secured by governmental arrangement. But as the Paris Conference proceeded, the attitude of labor and liberal opinion toward the Covenant it proposed became first a question, then a suspicion and finally a judgment that it was not the expression of democracy.

The present plans make no provision for a Parliament of Peoples in which they might discuss the common business of the nations and come to know each other and each other's point of view. Instead of this there is the following arrangement:

MEMBERSHIP

The members of the League will be the signatories of the covenant and other States invited to accede who must lodge a declaration of accession without reservation within two months. A new State, dominion, or colony may be admitted, provided its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the assembly. A State may withdraw upon giving two years' notice, if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

SECRETARIAT

A permanent secretariat will be established at the seat of the League, which will be at Geneva.

ASSEMBLY

The Assembly will consist of representatives of the members of the League, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by States. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

This is plainly a long way removed from democracy and the reason is not far to seek. The result of an attempt to form a League of Nations could not in the nature of things be more democratic than the attempt. If what the world gets from Paris is not an association of free peoples it is because the

Paris Conference was not a conference of free peoples. Who was represented there save the political parties who happened to be in control of the allied governments at the time the war was ended? Of the delegations probably the most composite was the British. It contained a Liberal, a Unionist and a Laborite. But the British Labor Party, representing somewhere near to five million voters in Great Britain, had no voice at the Paris Conference. The delegation was handpicked by the Prime Minister to represent the Coalition Government. The American delegation was even less representative of public opinion. Side by side with the Paris Conference there met at Berne, an international labor and socialist conference representing many millions of people, whose organizations have developed very much more definite programs for a new order than anything which was produced at Paris. These people were not represented at all in the Paris Conference. There met at Moscow, while the Paris gathering was in progress, an international communist congress representing still other millions, some of whom have already established the framework of a totally new order of society. These people were not represented even at the Berne Conference, let alone at Paris. One thing at least is true about the new order; it is going to be made in the main by the people who work at the common tasks of civilization. Yet these people, who are to play so large a part in the making of a new order, have had no adequate voice in the making of the present League of Nations. When they have spoken elsewhere they have demanded an association of peoples, not of governments.

Does this mean that present political machinery was unable to provide a democratic representation of the various elements in the population for the most significant gathering of modern times? Is it then inherently defective? Faced with its supreme task, the extension of democracy to world affairs, was the democratic state unable to function democratically. As

the result of the Paris Conference could not be more democratic than the Conference itself, neither could the Conference be more democratic than the nations from which its delegates came. Indeed some of its spirit is usually lost in the transfer of a principle from a smaller to a larger organization. The story of the Paris gathering and its aftermath would have been much different if the democratic nations had been democratic enough to construct their governments by proportionate representatives.

It is a political axiom that democratic arrangements can develop only out of democratic discussion, and in this respect the Paris Conference was notoriously less democratic than the nations which profess democracy. Despite the fact that the first of the famous Fourteen Articles, on the basis of which the respective governments assembled at Paris agreed to come together, prescribed "open covenants of peace openly arrived at," from the first day the most important of the issues involved were discussed behind closed doors in a council of ten; later in a council of four, and finally were discussed and settled by three men. The people whose destinies were thus determined were told only such things as these men wished them to know. The arrangements they were asked to guarantee by a League of Nations were secretly arrived at. In considering the attempt to proclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat, political democracy must face the hard fact that, in the day when men were bent on shaping a new order, its contribution in method was the practical dictatorship of three men over the conference of the nations.

Nor can political democracy escape the dilemma by pleading the centralization of power due to war necessity, by pleading the advantage of a war-time administration in its control of army and press and in the potency of the appeal to passion. If political democracy chooses to abdicate for war purposes, it must accept the consequences when it comes to the estab-

lishing of peace. It must either admit frankly that the working out of a new order is a choice between two kinds of dictatorship and appeal to the world on the basis of their respective merits, or repent and confess its war-time relapse from principles and meet the challenge of those who want and need a new order with more and still more democracy. Its test is the Treaty and the Covenant. In this day and age, the ex-cathedra decisions of three men are not long going to hold the life of the world, unless in the name of democracy the free peoples can be led to attempt to enforce them. If they do accept them with their eyes closed, for fear of the specter of anarchy or the resurrected foe, then democracy has plainly lost its power to function. Perhaps it has not yet acquired that power.

As a matter of fact the people are still in bondage to the old ideas, holding over from the days of autocratic power. When they talk of affairs in Russia they do not talk of the Russian people but of Lenine and Trotsky; when the papers discuss the Paris Conference they speak of Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George more than of the peoples behind them. Does it mean that we cannot yet act democratically, that the efforts for a new order are bound by the old idealogy and phraseology of kingcraft? Is it one of the incurable infirmities of human life and institutions that we must always have a measure of dictatorship in the management of our affairs, even in a democracy? If it is, we may be devoutly thankful that God made the Irish, and some others, to protest in every time and under every system that at least such a measure of dictatorship as then obtains is not necessary to human affairs. In particular, let us give thanks for those among them on whose head a price is always set by the established order and sometimes paid, yet never gets what it paid for, because alive or dead they are rebels still; and their souls go marching on, leading the rest of the world to continually

reduce what is repeatedly affirmed to be an irreducible minimum in the control by a few of the affairs of the many.

If a League of Nations is to make for a new political order, it must establish at least proportionate equality between the nations. But the present covenant is primarily an alliance of the five big allies and secondarily of the fourteen war allies, together with such neutrals as they may themselves select and invite into the League.

COUNCIL

The Council will consist of representatives of the Five Great Allied Powers, together with representatives of four members selected by the Assembly from time to time; it may co-opt additional States and will meet at least once a year. Members not represented will be invited to send a representative when questions affecting their interests are discussed. Voting will be by States. Each State will have one vote and not more than one representative. A decision taken by the Assembly and Council must be unanimous except in regard to procedure, and in certain cases specified in the covenant and in the treaty, where decisions will be by a majority.

The five "Great Powers" have five members of the Council, all others together have only four; moreover the real power is concentrated in the hands of the council, which will naturally represent the foreign offices of the respective nations. No nation has yet democratically controlled its foreign affairs. The departments of foreign relations are the least democratic of any of the governmental agencies of the people. In Europe they represent, and in secrecy carry out, an inherited tradition of aggressive self-interest, and here the State Department is practically the will or whim of the executive.

Do the people of this country know what the United States has done in Hayti and San Domingo, or what it has discussed with other nations concerning Mexico? Does even the Senate know what operations of our financial interests in other parts of the earth, in behalf of which the Congress may presently be asked to declare war, the State Department has sanctioned?

Because the history of recent diplomacy, including the negotiations at Paris clearly shows that the mainspring of the foreign policy of any nation is economic interest, and because under the present economic order that interest is one of aggression, or at least appears to be, there is no hope for a new world, and little hope of stability for the old, in the attempt to combine the foreign policies of the great powers in some sort of a compromise and expect the other nations to acquiesce in an agreement by which they are to furnish or guarantee the profit to be derived from the undertaking. In face of the overwhelming predominance of power given to the "Great Powers," the Covenant can scarcely claim to be a democratic arrangement. How then, did this result eventuate from an attempt to make the world safe for democracy? Those who assert that the Covenant is the best that could be done at the present time are at least under bonds to explain why democracy has ceased to be democratic. Is it because it has developed bureaucratic machinery which will not permit democracy to function? Or is it because, particularly in foreign affairs, it is the voice and the will of an autocratic economic system?

The supreme test of the League of Nations as a political instrument is what it will do to prevent war. Even though in other respects it gave no signs of new life, still if it offers some promise of ridding the world of wars, it will aid a new order in getting born. It was for this reason that the labor and socialist parties of Europe advocated the plan, and it was certainly intended by those who proposed and first drafted the present Covenant that disarmament should be a positive undertaking, that conscription should be abolished, and war should be made more than unlikely. These things an international agreement must guarantee if it is to bring healing or health or hope to the stricken world, that it may begin life anew.

What then are the actual provisions of the present Covenant

in this matter? They follow the principle: "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each case."

ARMAMENTS

The Council will formulate plans for a reduction of armaments for consideration and adoption. These plans will be revised every ten years. Once they are adopted, no member must exceed the armaments fixed without the concurrence of the Council. All members will exchange full information as to armaments and programs, and a permanent commission will advise the Council on military and naval questions.

The amount of pressure for disarmament that is likely to come from a League of the Governments that now rule Western Europe is already evident. Introducing the draft, M. Bourgeois of France said: "There are special dangers for countries like France, Belgium, Serbia, and the new states in course of formation" which require for them "stronger systems of defense and possibly stronger armaments." It is the language and the spirit of the old competitive armament system. It manifests the same fear and distrust and the same unwillingness to face and attempt to remove their causes. The present League of Nations manifests no faith in the possibility of disarmament, and already the dominant powers in the agreement are planning an increase in army or navy, or both.

What measures does the present Covenant suggest for the prevention of war?

Upon any war, or threat of war, the Council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war until three months after the award. Members agree to carry out the arbitral award and not to go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with it. If a member fails to carry out the award, the Council will propose the necessary measures. The Council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions. Members who do not submit their case to arbitration must accept the jurisdiction of the

Assembly. If the Council, less the parties to the dispute, is unanimously agreed upon the rights of it, the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with its recommendations. In this case, a recommendation, by the Assembly, concurred in by all its members represented on the Council and a simple majority of the rest, less the parties to the dispute, will have the force of a unanimous recommendation by the Council. In either case, if the necessary agreement cannot be secured, the members reserve the right to take such [action?] as may be necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. Members resorting to war in disregard of the covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members. The Council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the League collectively for the protection of the covenants and will afford facilities to members coöperating in this enterprise.

The measures then are publicity for disputes, delay, attempted mediation and conciliation, with optional arbitration. They are the absolute minimum that could be adopted and have anything at all. They are a step in advance, but they must be measured not against the past, but against the needs and possibilities of the present. The same measures have proved ineffective in appreciably modifying the conflict within the industrial system. Are they any more likely to be effective in the international field? The degree of faith their framers have in them is shown not by their words but by their attitude toward disarmament. Where there is no faith there is no new life. These arrangements are the result of a purely legal conception of life, which imagines that world peace is a matter of artificial bonds to be maintained by force, whereas it is in truth a matter of vital associations in the realities of life.

No new order can come from a negative approach to the world situation and the one vigorous positive note in the present covenant is in Article Ten, in which "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League." This makes the League of Nations permanently underwrite the results of the Paris Conference. It is an attempt to nail down the fron-

tiers that have there been laid. These follow pretty closely the lines of the secret treaties made between the Allies during the war, which represent the spirit and practice of the old diplomatic system that at least was to be ended by the war. If it is indeed dead, how long then are we to keep its corpse in state to divert the people from the real business of life? Who believes that the Saar Valley arrangement or the putting of Silesia and East Prussia under an imperialistic Polish state is going to make for the prevention of war? What likelihood of ending war lies in attempting to guarantee the decisions of the Paris Conference may be gathered by considering that of the twenty-three wars now in progress in Europe, most of them were originated by those decisions or in the attempt to forestall them. Indeed some of the wars were instigated and supported by the men who made the decisions. What was done regarding China holds more of menace to the future peace of the world than any agreement to talk over matters of dispute holds of promise. The essence of what happened in relation to China was the recognition of the economic sovereignty of Japan over certain sections and also the strengthening of the control which that Empire has been directly and indirectly exerting over the military establishment and policy of the Chinese Republic. From this transaction some view of the economic background of the Paris Conference may be gained. Was it primarily economic causes that hindered that gathering from doing more to prevent war and induced it to lay the fuel for other conflagrations?

It has for some time been generally admitted by those who have studied the matter that the main occasion of future wars is the conflicting economic interests of the nations under the present order. Did the Paris Conference then fail to satisfy the desire of mankind for the abolition of war because it failed to appreciate and act upon this truth? This consideration may throw some light on the question of whether the

undemocratic nature of the result of that conference was due to the pressure of the present economic order. Democracy and war are admittedly antithetical. It may be then for one and the same reason that the present Covenant does not go further in the direction both of preventing war and extending democracy. If it should now appear that the main obstacle to both these endeavors is an economic system which breeds antagonism and promotes strife, which perpetuates and strengthens the autocratic and predatory spirit, the world will at least know what has to be done to get a new order; the Paris Conference will at least have spread the knowledge that the need of the world is the transformation of the method by which it does its daily business and the finding of new ends for that business.

The one open positive act of the present Covenant in the field of economic action is the adoption of some standards concerning labor and the establishment of an international labor conference. These are the standards as reported in the Official Summary of the Conference:

> Nine principles of labor conditions were recognized on the ground that the "well-being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance," with exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits and economic development. They include the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; the right of association of employers and employees; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week; a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours; which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein, including foreigners; and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

There is also created an International Labor Conference to further consider such matters, and a permanent International Labor Office with a governing board that determines the

subjects to come before the Conference which meets annually, but any government may object to the inclusion of a matter for discussion. If any piece of labor legislation is passed by the conference, each state agrees to bring it before its competent body for enacting legislation within a year. The Paris Commission on International Labor Legislation drew up the following agenda for the first meeting of the General Conference in October, 1919:

The extension of the Berne convention of 1906, which condemned the employment of yellow phosphorus in the match industry—a provision since carried out by all the great nations except Japan—and urged an eleven-hour nightly rest for women in industry—likewise since generally accepted;

The eight-hour day and forty-eight hour week;

Provision against unemployment;

Protection of women in industry—prohibition of night work and work in unhealthful industries; and protection of maternity;

Protection of children—prohibition of night work, unhealthful work, or work undertaken below a certain age.

These standards are frankly nothing but reform measures designed to abate industrial warfare by making labor more satisfied with the present order, and also to secure the support of organized labor for the governments which offer them, but at the same time those governments propose to keep the whip hand. The respective delegations to the General Labor Conference are composed of two persons representing the government, one representing the employers and one the employees. It is then in effect, the extension of political control over industrial affairs. The standards proposed are but the demands of the most conservative of the labor forces and have been secured by their own organizations to a considerable degree. If they could be internationally enforced, of which again the Paris Conference expressed its disbelief by making no attempt in that direction, they would stabilize the international labor market to some extent and relieve a part of the pressure upon

the lives of the wage-earners from present competitive conditions. But that they mark any new order in dealing with labor is an utterly preposterous claim, to be advanced only by those with whom words have completely taken the place of reality. That they will not satisfy labor is already certain. In no significant labor body among the great industrial nations can any expression of contentment with such a program be found, except in official circles of the American Federation of Labor. While they were being drawn, great bodies of workers were demanding and securing far higher standards, were actually compelling their governments to consider plans not for reforms in working conditions only, but for the genuine self-determination and self-realization of the workers in the larger affairs of industry and the state. For instance the British miners were agitating for a thirty-hour week and compelling the government to call a conference to consider nationalization of the mines. How far this labor program devised at Paris by a mutual self-interest compact between governments and reactionary labor officials will go toward establishing industrial peace, may be judged from the fact that some of the severest and most far-reaching conflicts of the present time are occurring in nations where most of this program has for some time been in effect and are being led by those who have received the benefits of it. It is clear that the forces of labor in Europe are in no mood to wait patiently while the beneficiaries of the present system experiment to see whether it can be made more tolerable and efficient by means of some minor improvements. Labor is getting ready to put in a new mainspring.

Concerning the other aspects of the economic life of the nations, the matters of investment and trade, all that the Covenant has to say is that its members bind themselves "to make provision for freedom of communication and transit and equitable treatment of commerce for all members of the

League, with special reference to the necessities of regions devastated during the war." This, beside putting the League in charge of the suppression of the slave trade and in control of the trade in arms and ammunition where such control is necessary, is the only economic agreement. This means that whatever has been gained during the war in the international control and allotment of raw materials is for the time being lost, and that the economic life of the nations goes back to the old competitive struggle. In preparation for that condition, Great Britain has already been busy fastening her control on most of the essential raw materials in the undeveloped regions.

The great sin of the Paris gathering is the sin of omission, the failure to inaugurate some measures of economic co-operation between the nations. As if that were not enough in a day of economic interdependence when the ability to internationally organize the distribution of raw materials has been amply demonstrated, that body has asked the world in the name of democracy to guarantee with its lifeblood that which it has done in stark economic aggression. It is not by Japan alone that the subtle game of economic imperialism has been played at Paris. The larger part of the reason for turning the Saar Valley and Silesia into breeding grounds for future wars is the desire to control raw material. The determining sources of the later developments of policy in regard to Russia are to be found first in the foreign debt of that country and next the minerals of Siberia, the timber of North Russia, the oil of the Caucasus, the cotton of Turkestan. Why could no dealings except those of force go on between Paris and the Soviet governments of Russia and Hungary? Why was Mexico not admitted to the League of Nations? Did her attitude toward the property rights of foreign investors have anything to do with her incapacity for government, in the sight of the leaders of democracy? Putting together the attitude of the Paris gathering toward those governments which would give private

rights in property a different valuation than it has in the prevailing economic system and the results of that Conference in establishing economic imperialism in the possession of its spoils, those who contend that the democratic state has become the instrument of a competitive economic system have an argument that is hard to answer. Is the League of Nations then to be on the one hand a holding corporation for international capitalism to prevent the mutual destruction of the profiteers, and on the other hand an international sheriff to collect their bad debts? Is it to carry on the international class war which the framers have already declared by their attitude toward socialist governments, or is it to become the medium through which a new international order can be worked out by the mutual modification which economic intercourse between those governments and the democratic states would naturally bring about?

If the machinery of the present Covenant is to serve this purpose, it will be necessary to develop it at once into a Parliament of the Peoples where their real representatives can talk to each other about the things they need to do together and all the rest can hear everything that is said. If the Covenant is to stand as the guarantee of the Paris treaty its value as the first agreement of the nations to discuss their differences is more than counterbalanced by what it does to internationally guarantee economic privileges that have been secured by strength and cunning, without regard to the common need. It proposes to do internationally by law what has long been done nationally, namely, secure the spoils to the strong by the common watch and ward. When wrong has once been turned into right by custom and sanction and upheld by law and order, it takes centuries to undo it. The miners of Great Britain are now trying to get a better standard of life. Across their path they find the vested right of a few families to take toll before the coal under the ground can be worked. They

have proved by historic documents that one of these families acquired thousands of acres of land because centuries ago one of its members took advantage of a place of trust to get the signature of a boy king put to the document that gave away miles on miles of the land which was the common heritage of the people of England. That document is a symbol of the sacred right of private property. To declare it invalid means a revolutionary change in Great Britain. Those who now tell us that something must now be conceded to the aggressors in order to get any kind of a covenant, and that without it there may be world upheaval, had better consider how much more of an upheaval it takes to redress wrongs after they have become intrenched. History has honor for men who, fighting for an ideal, met forces too strong for them and went down to defeat with their banner flying to the last; but it has no renown for men who led their time to be content with less of change than its possibilities afforded. There is a Scripture the statesmen seldom use, perhaps it belongs only to the prophets to know its truth, and they are not always sure of it: "According to your faith it shall be done unto you."

To multitudes of men the world over, the results of the Paris Conference are an abortion of the hope that was conceived in the dread hour of war, a defeat of the ideal that was born in the agony of the great struggle. The political idealists who planned a League of Nations that would really prevent war and begin a new order, were defeated by a combination of forces, chief of which was harsh economic reality. They were trying to impose world peace upon the earth by a political superstructure without due regard to the underpinning of the common life. That is why so many federations, from churches to nations, turn out to be only additional machinery. Solidarity is a matter of life, not organization. The things federated must have a common aim, purpose and motive, and their desire to seek the common good must be greater

than the desire to serve themselves. If they are after all essentially rivals, no articles of agreement can bring unity of life. All these can do is to furnish rules for the struggle. This the legalists were trying to do for the nations without due regard to the economic nature of international rivalry. Meantime the forces of the old order were strengthening themselves in the economic field and planning to use the new political organization as their defense and protection, quieting the apprehensions of the idealists with the plea of economic necessity. But there was another aspect of economic reality lying ready to the hand of political democracy as the instrument wherewith to fashion a new order, had its leaders but known it. That tool is the coöperative nature and possibility of the machine age. There is no need for political democracy to fall into the grave with capitalism. It yet has a name to live, and can find renewed strength by following its principles into the economic field, where they will create an international organization that will be positive not negative, that will "be based not on fighting but on fraternity," that will not seek to guarantee the privileges of the strong but to promote the common welfare by mutual service.

Before the peoples can come together in such a family of nations they must order their national life with a new spirit and purpose. The spirit of the present Covenant for a League of Nations is still the spirit of the old order, of a world which has not yet been born again. In the old order the nations look upon the rest of the earth as a field for gain, and other peoples as a source of profit. In the new order all the nations will view the earth as the common resource to be coöperatively administered for the maintenance of the common life, they will consider all other peoples as beings of infinite worth and will seek to find that worth in fellowship together.

CHAPTER X

SOME MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

What contribution has the United States to offer to the programs for a new social order that have been crystallized by the war? Is there in this country any conviction concerning the need of social change, and if so, is it being formulated in definite terms? It is to be supposed that there would not be in this country any such crystallization of conviction or judgment as there is in Europe concerning the essential elements of a new order, because the social problem is not yet so acute, owing to exceptional economic opportunity. It is commonly observed among those whose business it is to consider comparative social conditions that the United States, alone among the industrial nations, is at the present time still trusting in the past, looking back to its constitution for guidance, pinning its faith to a form which was devised for another day and not seeking to develop its underlying principles.

In very broad outline we will first consider certain political platforms or programs, drawn up during the world war, looking towards the reconstruction period, which assume to represent in this country "the toilers of hand and brain alike," as do the British and Russian programs already considered. We will take first the principles and demands of the Socialist Party as expressed in its Congressional Programme for 1918, which begins with the following declaration:

> Before the war the industrial life of every great nation was controlled by private individuals for private gain. A rapidly increased cost of living, widespread poverty among the wage workers, meagre incomes for the professional class, and the concentration of immense wealth in the hands

of a comparative few—these were the natural results of a world run in the interest of big business.

Every civilized nation was split into two warring camps; the non-producers who owned, and the producers who served.

Then war came. It has challenged the domination of our economic life by private enterprise. Private operation and competition are being found totally unequal to the strain of war. The interests of the state become supreme.

Underlying all the problems of international reconstruction is the greatest of all issues with which the world stands faced. The state is dominating industry. Who shall dominate the state? On the answer to this question depends the future of mankind.

Already the lines are forming.

In every belligerent country, friend and foe alike, the men of power in commerce and industry are laying their plans openly to capture the trade of the world.

Already these men seek to enlist the active support of their governments in these schemes of conquest to follow peace. The future of the world for them is a super-struggle for wealth and power; but in that game no mere individuals, but nations and governments themselves would be the pawns.

Opposed to this, the ranks of labor are taking form. Within the belligerent nations the mass of the workers are gathering strength. The toilers, of hand and brain alike, are building a new brotherhood in the unity of their demands.

"No forcible annexations, no punitive indemnities, self-determination of all nations." To the famous formula is now added: "No economic nationalism, no war after the war."

True to its historic mission, the Socialist Party of the United States seeks to prepare the workers of America to take their part in the new fraternity of labor.

The Socialist Party comes before the people pledged to the service of democracy. Democracy in government, democracy in industry, democracy in education—during the war as well as after the war, the state, the industries, and education, all three must be owned and managed by the people, with no thought of profit.

It should be observed that the analysis "every civilized nation was split into two warring camps: the non-producers who owned and the producers who served" is a little too simple. In the United States, more than in Europe, there is an intermingling of these groups; there are many producers who serve and also who own in greater or less degree. Of these, a large

proportion now find themselves shut out from any vital share in the control of the wealth or the productive enterprise of the nation. The part they will play in social change is likely to depend upon whether they conclude that their interests both as owners and producers alike demand a new order. If these interests conflict, ownership tying them to the old order and productive service leading them to the new, then the question is whether they will develop enough passion for the common good and a sufficient spirit of sacrifice to make them workers for a new world.

It should also be noted that behind the demand that "the state, the industries and education—all three, must be owned and managed by the people with no thought of profit," there is the same assumption involved in the program of the British Labor Party, namely, that state ownership and state management of these three functions would give true democracy. This remains to be demonstrated. There have been serious questions raised concerning it by the organized workers of Great Britain and the United States as a result of the partial state ownership and state control of some of these functions during the war.

The Congressional Platform of the Socialist Party is divided into two major divisions; International Reconstruction and National Reconstruction. The international point of emphasis is a Federation of Peoples.

> We call for a Federation of the Peoples of the World, neutrals as well as present belligerents, and that this federation be organized at the time of the peace conference.

A positive aim and purpose for this federation is set forth as against what is declared to be the necessary negative aim of a federation of present governments:

> Under the control of capitalist nations such a Federation would, of course, be used mainly for the purpose of making rules to govern the international struggle for the markets of the world and to aid the cap-

italist powers of different nations to keep down their own working classes whereas the Socialist Party desires a federation of socialized nations for the purpose of coördinating the affairs of the world and establishing universal brotherhood.

In method, this proposal is more true to the principles of political democracy than the Paris Conference or its League of Nations. Evidently considering a transitional stage to be necessary between the democratic and the socialistic world order, this program demands democratic representation and discussion:

To minimize this danger, we demand as a first requisite to success, an adequate representation of labor and socialist groups, women and suppressed races and nationalities, in each belligerent nation at the peace conference and in all departments of the permanent Federation of Peoples.

In the matter of disarmament, the socialists propose that humanity keep faith with itself and follow its hopes rather than its fears:

We demand that the Federation take measures looking to the reduction of armaments to the point of eventual elimination. If the will to peace is there, economic pressure will be an adequate weapon against recalcitrants.

In the field of Internal Reconstruction the first question raised is Industrial Control and the proposals are similar to those of the British Labor Party:

The private domination of industry for private gain has brought such disastrous consequences both among and within the nations of the world as to make public ownership for public service the first necessity in any forward-looking plan of reconstruction both national and international.

The Socialist Party, therefore, demands that all public utilities and basic industries of the United States be taken over by the people, and that this process shall be undertaken as speedily as is consistent with public order and security, and allowing for the utmost possible degree of local autonomy.

In the accomplishment of these ends the Socialist Party demands that compensation, if any, paid to the owners in no case exceed the original cost of the physical property taken by the people; that such compensa-

tion be paid as far as possible out of taxation and operating revenues; that the unit of ownership—federal, state or city—should coincide as closely as possible with the scope of the industry concerned; and that the operation of all public services be on a strictly cost basis after allowing suitable reserves for depreciation, retirement of debts and new construction.

It is proposed to immediately nationalize the Railroads and Express Service, Steamships and Steamship Lines, Telegraph and Telephone, and Power, defined as "the coördination of coal mines, water power and the generation of electricity under national ownership and control," as proposed by the British Ministry of Reconstruction. This would promote "economy" and efficiency of public service and the prevention of fuel famine," so that "every household in the nation as well as every industrial establishment and farm could be supplied with electrical energy at almost incredibly low rates." It is also declared that

Every large scale essential industry whose operations extend beyond the borders of a single state must eventually be owned and operated by the Federal Government at cost, for the benefit of the people as a whole.

But

Government ownership without democratic management may become a greater menace to the world than the system of private ownership and exploitation which is passing away. Without the control of industry a democratic government may be a menace to the liberty of the individual. The addition of the immense power over public policy, and over the happiness of the masses, incident to industrial domination, intensifies the menace a thousand-fold.

It is quite evident from recent strikes of state and municipal employees in France, England, Canada and the United States, that the workers do not propose to permit the democratic state as it goes into industry to become an autocratic master. It is also evident that both the state and the workers will have to consider whether democracy in industry can be secured by state control of production, under either a capitalist or socialist economic system.

Then come demands concerning a national policy of employment, of the same nature as those already described in the program of the British Labor Party. These are followed by a demand for a change in the structure of government:

The present structure of government is totally inadequate to assume the additional burden of industrial control.

Organized on the theory of a separation of powers and constrained by a rigid constitution, the President, two houses of congress, and the courts have been checks and balances upon one another that have destroyed efficiency, and made ineffective the will of the people. Only by the domination of the executive and the servility of Congress has any effective action been secured. But the loss to democracy has been immense.

The dictates of both efficiency and democracy demand a flexible constitution and a unified form of government. The President and the courts must be responsible to Congress and its members elected by the people without regard to sex and subject to their continual control.

The Socialist Party, therefore, demands:

1. That amendments to the United States Constitution be made upon the recommendation of a majority vote of Congress and ratification by a majority of the voters of the nation, or by initiative of the people.
2. The abolition of the Senate, and the election of members of Congress by proportional representation subject to recall. Democratization of Congressional procedure, the terms of congressmen to begin soon after their election. The election of federal judges by the people subject to recall.
3. The direct election of the President and the Vice-President subject to recall, and the abolition of the veto power.
4. The abolition of the usurped power of the courts to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional.
5. Responsibility of the President and his cabinet to Congress through the power of interpellation.
6. Self-government for the District of Columbia.
7. The initiative and referendum applied to federal legislation.
8. The immediate passage of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States establishing the right of women to the franchise, and adequate representation of women in legislative, judicial and administrative fields of government, that the interests of women may be the better safeguarded.

"To meet the needs of the national finance" and at the same time solve the ever menacing problem of wealth concentration, this platform favors:

1. The imposition of an excess profits tax approximately 100%. No one should be permitted to secure profit from this war, while others are enduring untold sacrifice.
2. A progressive income tax, aiming at the abolition of all incomes above the needs of a comfortable and secure livelihood.
3. A progressive inheritance tax, rising to 100% in large estates.
4. Taxation of the unearned increment of land; all lands held out of use to be taxed at full rental value.
5. A more adequate corporations tax.

It is also urged that "the government must completely and democratically control its banks and credit system" through the following means:

The Socialist Party demands:
That all banks essential to the conduct of business and industry be acquired by the government and incorporated in a unified public banking system.
2. As the government acquires ownership of industries, it shall substitute for metallic money and the present form of paper money an increasing proportion of notes redeemable in the service and commodities furnished by the government, thereby ultimately eliminating entirely the necessity of maintaining a gold reserve, except for international trade relations.

This platform also proposes to introduce a new order in agriculture, and the measures it suggests are similar to those which organizations of farmers are now carrying out:

1. Collective ownership of elevators, warehouses, flour mills, stockyards, packing houses, creameries, cold storage plants, and factories for the production of agricultural implements.
2. Public insurance against diseases of animals, diseases of plants, insect pests, hail, flood, drought, storm and fire.
3. The leasing of farm machinery by public bodies at cost.
4. The encouragement of coöperative societies for agricultural purposes.
5. The application of the land values tax to land held for speculation and exploitation; exemption of farm improvements from taxation.
6. The retention by the national, state and local government of all land owned by them, and the continuous acquirement of other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise, such land to be organized as rapidly as practicable into socially operated farms.
7. Encouragement of unions of agricultural workers.

8. Extension of labor laws to agriculture and the securing to agricultural laborers of minimum standards requisite for a healthy life and worthy citizenship.

9. We also call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture resulting from the foregoing measures will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage-worker and free him from dependence on the private employer.

The Socialists are not unmindful of the race problem which hinders the solidarity of the United States and makes a new social order here a more difficult problem than it is in Europe.

The negroes are the most oppressed portion of the American population of which they form one-ninth. They are the victims of lawlessness, including hanging and burning; widespread political disfranchisement, and loss of civil rights. They are especially discriminated against in economic opportunity.

We therefore demand:

1. That the negroes be accorded full benefits of citizenship, political, educational and industrial.

2. That Congress shall enforce the provisions of the 14th Amendment by reducing the representation in Congress of such states as violate the letter or spirit of the amendment.

The conclusion of this program is of particular significance:

In offering the above program, the Socialist Party warns the masses that it has reference to a dying social order. Our program is designed to assist in the passing of this bankrupt system of capitalism, not as a final substitute for it. No security can be had from imperialism, trade and investment rivalries, reactionary diplomacy, intrigues against backward lands and peoples, militarism, and exploitation of the masses, without a complete transformation of capitalist society. Anything short of this complete transformation, any program that leaves industry, finance, transportation and natural resources in the hands of exploiting groups, will perpetuate the causes of international discord and lead to another world tragedy. The main struggle of the masses is to secure control of these basic institutions and this requires an education of the people to the necessity of such control.

In this work of education we invite the coöperation of all who recognize the opportunities for re-building the world on a basis of equity, democracy and fraternity for all.

Here is a different point of view from that evidenced in the programs of the British Labor Party and the Russian Soviet

Republic. It is avowedly a program for a transition period, rather than for a new order. Compared with the European programs, it is the expression of a different stage of economic development. It is a frank recognition of the fact that the people of this country are not yet ready, intellectually or practically, for such changes as may be now secured in economic or political organization in Europe, that they have not yet recognized the necessity of the democratic control of economic activity. From this point of view the United States is among the backward peoples, whose chief need is education. The nation which cheerfully assumed to teach the world democracy needs now patiently to discover what democracy means. The emphasis upon education with which this program closes gives ground for hope. What needs always to be remembered is that the educational method of the new order is not the transmission of dogma, but discussion and experiment.

Another reconstruction program was formulated by the Social Democratic League which is a secessionist group of "intellectuals" who split off from the Socialist Party because of its opposition to the war. This group was one of the constituent elements in the "National Party" and its members are active in the present attempt to secure the political organization of "liberals." Their program runs very largely side by side with the main features of the program just considered. It declares that

> after the war socialism will be at once freer, more democratic, more radical and more practical than pre-war socialism.

It points out that

> Socialists will continue to advocate labor legislation and government ownership along the lines established by the international labor movement,

but

governmentalized industry as well as private industry, no matter how much regulated by labor legislation, stand in the need of direct democratic control. Nor can a genuine democratic international program be built upon the basis of economically separate and self-sufficient and independent nations. The time has arrived to put into practical effect that economical internationalism which has been so long explicit but forgotten in Socialist literature.

The two main theses of this program are thus, that industry under government operation must have a democratic control and that economic life must be internationally organized.

The measures relied upon for the democratic control of industry are as follows:

Either under government ownership or under the system of government control contemplated for most industries for the reconstruction period we must have governing bodies largely or wholly under a combined government and labor control—the very substance of industrial democracy when labor and the producing classes generally come to predominate over private property and capitalist interests in the government—as they may do in every democratic nation if the producing classes use their new power efficiently in national and in international affairs.

. . . . . .

The next step is to demand the direct participation of labor in the other radical economic measures affecting labor not by industries but nationally, measures initiated by the war and likely to be continued in various forms and degrees.

. . . . . .

The direct representation of labor and other producing classes on industrial boards must be supplemented moreover, by a radical democratization of all political and constitutional machinery as already partially developed in politically advanced communities in the United States and several other nations. It is chiefly through such political democracy national and local, that the producing classes express their desires in their capacity of consumers, though the consumers, whenever coöperatively organized, may also be given direct representation.

The national program advocates national action for economic well-being and society welfare in ways that have already been sufficiently discussed. It has this to say concerning equality of opportunity for cultural development:

Every child is entitled both to a broad cultural education and to a specialized occupational training. Half-time and continuation schools cannot accomplish this double object. The minimum school age must be raised to eighteen. A large proportion of our youthful population—including all those who develop special gifts or aptitudes while in school—must be maintained throughout the higher technical schools and colleges at public expense. Industrial education should be harmonized with the system of apprenticeship advocated by organized labor, which should have a voice in the conduct of industrial schools. At the same time the quality of our public educational institutions must be improved in every direction. The number of common-school teachers must be approximately doubled in order that classes may be smaller, their pay and training must be improved and teachers for special and higher classes must be even more largely increased in number. All this, together with better equipment, means a minimum increase in school expenditures of several hundred per cent.

The aim of physical and mental education in a social democracy is to give all children equal educational opportunities so that they may meet on equal terms in all occupations—and to enlarge their capacities to the maximum of which they are capable for both social service and for individual development—taking into due account the economic and educational resources which the community has at its disposal. Indeed this defines the larger part of the duty of a social democracy towards the individual citizen.

Equality of opportunity must be provided in part by revolutionary improvements in the educational system, and in part—as the American Federation of Labor demands—by such improvements in wages that all citizens may be able to keep their children in school as long as their progress promises results corresponding to the parents' sacrifice—or as long as parents are willing for any reason to continue this sacrifice. At the same time it is the duty of society to maintain in school at public expense all children and youths of exceptional abilities—for as long a period as their promise of exceptional social services seems to justify.

This program also emphasizes the relation of coöperative societies to the development of a new order.

The international program emphasizes economic internationalism as the only possible basis of permanent peace:

The older remedies against war, based upon individualism among the nations, have become obsolete. They are founded upon the principle of unlimited national competition and belong to the period of laissez-faire in government and unlimited competition in industry.

. . . . . .

In order that there may be no economic war after the war—leading towards another military holocaust—in order that a permanent economic peace may be established, the present defensive economic coöperation of the Entente nations and America against Germany must be made the basis for a constructive and permanent economic coöperation for the purpose of preserving peace, improving the economic relations of the nations and removing the economic causes of the war.

The specific measures set forth for economic coöperation between the nations are: the internationalization of international capital for the development of the backward regions, internationalization of international transportation, international coöperation in international trade, particularly in the control and distribution of raw materials. In conclusion it is affirmed: "This organized coöperation of the democratic nations is an indispensable preparation for their political federation," whereas political federation in the League of Nations is being attempted on the basis of economic competition. In this matter, as well as in its emphasis upon the necessity for democratic control of state industry by the workers, the program of the Social Democratic League recognizes that political organization must correspond to economic reality, that it must embody and express the interdependence and vital associations of industrial civilization, that instead of being an overhead regulative agency for industry and agriculture, it must be the medium through which their respective functions may achieve a better coördination for the common social well-being.

Platforms have also recently been formulated by Independent Labor Parties in different parts of this country in the hope that the movement may become national in scope with an organization in every city and state. The two strongest organizations at present are in the State of Illinois and City of Chicago, and again in Greater New York. The Chicago platform, which follows, is practically the program of the other organizations.

LABOR'S FOURTEEN POINTS

The Platform of an Independent Labor Party Launched by the Chicago Federation of Labor

Right to Organize

1. The unqualified right of workers to organize and to deal collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

Democratic Control of Industry

2. Democratic control of industry and commerce for the general good by those who work with hand and brain, and the elimination of autocratic domination of the forces of production and distribution either by selfish private interests or bureaucratic agents of government.

8 Hour Day and Minimum Wage

3. An 8-hour day and a 44-hour week in all branches of industry, with minimum rates of pay which, without the labor of mothers and children, will maintain the worker and his family in health and comfort, and provide a competence for old age, with ample provision for recreation and good citizenship.

Abolition of Unemployment

4. Abolition of unemployment by the creation of opportunity for steady work at standard wages through the stabilization of industry and the establishment, during periods of depression, of government work on housing, road-building, reforestation, reclamation of desert and swamp, and the development of ports and waterways.

Equal Rights for Men and Women

5. Complete equality of men and women in government and industry, with the fullest enfranchisement of women, and equal pay for men and women doing similar work.

Stop Profiteering

6. Reduction of the cost of living to a just level, immediately and as a permanent policy, by the development of coöperation, and the elimination of wasteful methods, parasitical middlemen and all profiteering in the creation and distribution of the products of industry and agriculture, in order that the actual producers may enjoy the fruits of their toil.

Abolish Kaiserism in Education

7. Democratization of education in public schools and universities through the participation of labor and the organized teachers in the determination of methods, policies and programs in this fundamental field.

Extension of Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance to All Workers

8. Continuation after the war of soldiers' and sailors' insurance; extension of such life insurance, by the government without profit, to all men and women; and the establishment of governmental insurance against accident and illness, and upon all insurable forms of property.

Tax Inheritance, Incomes, and Land Values to Pay War Debt and Government Expenses

9. Liquidation of the national debt by the application of all inheritances above a hundred thousand dollars, supplemented as may be necessary by a direct capital tax upon all persons and corporations where riches have been gained by war or other profiteering; and payment of the current expenses of government by graduated income taxes, public profits from nationally owned utilities and resources, and from a system of taxation of land values which will stimulate rather than retard production.

Public Ownership of Public Utilities—Nationalization and Development of Natural Resources to Furnish Employment for Returning Soldiers and Sailors and Dislocated War-Workers

10. Public ownership and operation of railways, steamships, stock yards, grain elevators, terminal markets, telegraphs, telephones, and all other public utilities; and the nationalization and development of basic natural resources, waterpower and unused land, with the repatriation of large holdings, to the end that returning soldiers and sailors and dislocated war workers may find an opportunity for an independent livelihood.

Restoration of Free Speech, Free Press, and Free Assemblage

11. Complete restoration, at the earliest possible moment, of all fundamental political rights—free speech, free press, and free assemblage; the removal of all war-time restraints upon the interchange of ideas and the movement of people among communities and nations; and the liberation of all persons held in prison or indicted under charges due to their championship of the rights of labor or their patriotic insistence upon the rights guaranteed to them by the constitution.

LABOR REPRESENTATION IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT—AND ALL GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES OF DEMOBILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

12. Representation of labor, in proportion to its voting strength, in all departments of government and upon all governmental commissions and agencies of demobilization and reconstruction; and recognition of the principles of trade unionism in the relocation of soldiers, sailors and war workers in peace pursuits, with adequate provision for the support and extension of the Department of Labor as the principal agency therefor.

LABOR REPRESENTATION IN PEACE CONFERENCE

13. Representation of the workers, in proportion to their numbers in the armies, navies and workshops of the world, at the peace conference and upon whatever international tribunals may result therefrom, with the labor of this nation represented by the president of the American Federation of Labor and such other delegates as the workers may democratically designate.

AN END TO KINGS AND WARS

14. Supplementing the League of Nations, and to make that instrument of international democracy vitally effective for humanity, a league of the workers of all nations pledged and organized to enforce the destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world, and to bring about world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

Respectfully submitted,
CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR.
E. N. NOCKELS, *Secretary.*
JOHN FITZPATRICK, *President.*

The American Labor Party of Greater New York prefaces its platform with the following appeal:

Workers, the great cataclysm that convulsed Europe, marked the birth pangs of a new social order. That new order, which will be characterized by industrial and political democracy, can not materialize without *your* coöperation and support. In your hands, brothers and sisters, rest not only your own fortunes, but the destiny of your class. As members of the American Labor Party you can usher in the dawn of a new era in which democracy and brotherhood will be the guiding stars.

Join us and help the American Labor Party regenerate society.

It quotes considerably from the British Labor Party program and in the measures it advocates, follows closely the Chicago platform. It has distinctive statements on Education and Taxation as follows:

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Education being the keystone to democracy, we favor the following:

(1) The creation of a department of education the head of which is to be a member of the President's Cabinet.

(2) The administration of local educational systems by elective and paid boards of education.

(3) College and university training free to all who are qualified.

(4) Democratization of education in public schools and universities and public libraries through the participation of labor and the organized teachers and librarians in the determination of new methods, policies and programs in this fundamental field and the extension of the principle of free public instruction and the furnishing of free text books to colleges and universities.

(5) The war being over, we demand the elimination of all military training from all educational institutions except the regularly established government military and naval schools.

TAXATION TO FINANCE INCREASED GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

To provide sufficient revenue to liquidate the public debt arising out of the war, to carry on all public works and improvements and to render financial assistance to certain projects upon which the economic future of the country and the well-being of the people will necessarily depend, we favor (a) 100 per cent. tax on an annual individual income above $100,000, and in addition, taxation to eliminate excessive inheritances, (b) a progressive increase in taxes upon all profits, unearned increments and incomes, (c) the use of public profits from nationally-owned utilities and resources, and the use of revenue derived from a system of taxation on land values which will stimulate rather than retard production.

These programs give an impression of trust in rigid formulæ, either derived from the past or borrowed elsewhere. There is no sure grip upon either the economic or the political means at hand in this country. One has the impression that the people who formulated these platforms have not yet found themselves. They are an indication rather of a disturbed

state of mind than any mastery of the situation. They are promise rather than performance.[1] They are a distinct advance in that they recognize the necessity of united political action by the forces of labor, which has been so vigorously denied and opposed by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, in that they attempt to reach out beyond wages, hours and conditions of employment to the wider economic aspects of the situation, and also in that they recognize the brain workers as an essential part of the army of production, and there again challenge a prejudice fostered by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Against that leadership there is a growing revolt. American labor is feeling the stimulus of the world movement for a new order. It is no longer to be content with struggling for collective bargaining and better conditions of work. Here and there a larger purpose is forming.

At present the socialist and labor groups of the United States are in the crucible; they do not fully understand their situation or themselves. What will happen in the way of final attitude and program will depend on two factors; namely, upon the economic situation that develops after the war and upon the attitude of the employing and propertied class in this country. There is material here for the development of very much more far-reaching programs than those just presented. Already there is a Left Wing Socialist movement running several publications in different parts of the country, proclaiming practically a communistic program akin to that of Russia and accepting the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the means to secure the new order.

Perhaps the most significant steps in the direction of a new order in the United States are those which have been taken

[1] Later developments make it clear that the labor movement of the United States will in due course make its own peculiar and vital contribution to the re-ordering of the world's economic life.

by the organized farmers. Whatever social change comes in this country will have to reckon with our large agricultural interests. In our past political and economic history not a little demand for change has come from the men of the soil. They were the backbone of the anti-slavery cause. They developed the Greenback and Populist movements, which originated in economic grievances. These were class movements, and they bore the stamp of the pioneer. They were protest more than constructive action. But the American farmer is no longer a pioneer. He is now not purely individualistic; he is rapidly being socialized. And he has organized for himself recently a very significant national movement, the Non-Partisan League.

The origin of this movement is to be found in the dissatisfaction of North Dakota farmers with marketing conditions, in their conviction that in the distribution of their product they were being exploited by the middle men and the speculators. For twenty years these farmers tried to get state terminal elevators for the storage and distribution of wheat. Legislature after Legislature refused; finally in the referendum election of 1914, 83% of the vote was cast for two state owned terminal elevators and 200 farmers went to the Legislature to lobby for their measure. But they found that certain financial interests had a larger influence with the Legislature than the people of the State, and they were told to "go home and slop their hogs." Instead they started to put some rings in the noses of hogs they did not own, with the result that they now have the Non-Partisan League, which is organized nationally, which has complete control of the government of one state and a working political organization in seventeen different states, which is no longer dependent for its views upon a press controlled by other interests, but has sixty papers of its own. This is absolutely an occupational organization. Farmers only may belong to it; no banker or merchant who is conduct-

ing farming as an expensive recreation or side interest can belong to the Non-Partisan League. But a genuine farmer, also interested in merchandising or banking, may belong provided that farming is his primary means of livelihood.

The primary purposes for which the League was formed are:

(A) Making government responsive to the will of the people;
(B) Eradicating special privilege; purifying government; improving the general welfare of the people;
(C) Raising the standard of citizenship; disseminating knowledge of the rights, powers and duties of citizens in relation to government; government by the people.

These purposes are stated in terms of political rights and general welfare, but the platform upon which the members of the League were elected to the Legislature last November (1918) calls for:

State-owned terminal elevators, flour mills, and cold storage plants, with an industrial commission to supervise their operation; a State bank with a capital of $2,000,000, in which all State funds will be deposited, and which, besides doing the usual banking business, will make first-mortgage farm loans at a low rate; a State building association empowered to erect dwellings for farmers and industrial workers, payment to be made on an amortization plan; State hail insurance, a matter of peculiar importance in the prairie States; workmen's compensation, an improved initiative and referendum, and an attack upon speculative land-holding through the exemption of improvements from taxation. A series of constitutional amendments to enable the State to undertake these various public services was approved by overwhelming popular votes at the last election; the amendments have since been ratified by the Legislature; and the larger part of the legislation called for is already on the statute book.

This program of State Socialism is used to enable the agricultural producers to control the sale of their product, to free them from the grip of the money lender, to improve their methods of production and to promote social well-being.

The legislature of 1917 passed bills placing within the reach of rural schools, school nurses and medical inspection; providing free transportation for children living more than two and one-fourth miles from the school; raising the compulsory attendance age to seventeen for those who

had not completed the eighth grade, and providing for the establishment of evening schools in town or country for those deficient in schooling who are beyond the compulsory school age. The present legislature has introduced measures to provide more ample funds for country schools and to improve them in other ways.

Besides a program, there is in North Dakota an actual accomplishment. Revolutionary changes have been accomplished by due process of law. There is little interest in North Dakota in the Socialist Party. Without caring about the name, the farmers have put through a socialistic program of state ownership and control of certain economic functions, rejecting state ownership of land. The League seeks to increase the number of small landholders and increase their proceeds.

There is a wider outlook and possibility to this movement. During the war the Non-Partisan League held a Reconstruction Conference and adopted certain resolutions which indicated that the purpose of the common people in the war, the reason for the privations and services of both men and women, was to establish political and industrial democracy at home as well as abroad, "not that they might possess its benefits to the exclusion of any others, but in order that equality of rights and opportunities between the nations and within the nations might be established." The members of the National Committee of the League pledged themselves to attempt to end war by creating a world democracy, to a reconstruction program providing employment for all, to reduce the cost of living, maintain earnings of labor and primary producers, end monopoly extortion and redeem state and national governments from the autocratic control of monopolies. They want national ownership for railroads, all means of transportation and communication and "all other undertakings which in their nature must be either great private monopolies or public enterprises." They want the national war debt liquidated by "an income and inheritance tax, grad-

uated upward from $5,000 until all incomes over $100,000 a year, and all inheritances above that amount shall be appropriated for that purpose until the debt is paid; and all incomes not accounted for and all income-producing properties, securities and inheritances not listed for this purpose shall be forfeited to the government." They want to eliminate gambling and speculation in the necessities of life by forbidding the use of the mails, telegraphs, telephones, express companies and banks for making sales of goods, properties, investments or securities except for actual delivery of the things sold. Here then is a movement which commits the farmer to a program of reconstruction, national and international, which mobilizes him with the other forces of the world that are working for a new order.

The significance of this movement is not simply that the farmer is in politics; the farmer of this country has always been in politics. From the time when he drove his wagon for two days across the prairies to hear Lincoln debate with Douglass, until the time of the Populist movement, not a little of the political thinking of this country has been done by the man of the soil. But the significant thing about this present situation is that the farmer is in politics for economic purposes, that he is trying to change the government in order to secure certain changes in the economic order. The politicians of Canada are quite a little worried at the present time because of the attitude of the Canadian Council of Agriculture whose program includes both public ownership of public utilities and the nationalization of the natural resources, along with other more immediate matters. This Council of farmers in Canada is requiring of candidates for office a categorical answer, yes or no, to the question, "Do you support the platform laid down by the Council of Agriculture?" The further significance of this movement is that the farmer is in politics as a class-conscious occupational group, driven there primarily by

his own economic and social interests, just exactly as the labor organizations are being driven into politics the world over. As soon as he attempts to look after his own occupational and social interests through legislation, the farmer finds that he is met by something other than political opposition. He finds that he is treated to the same measures of repression which have long been used in this country against the industrial workers when they have sought to improve their conditions. After people get over the first shock, their ideas get clarified considerably by getting pounded over the head a few times, and now that the farmers have had their meetings broken up and have been driven out of towns after their organizers have been beaten and imprisoned under false pretenses, they come to understand pretty definitely what are the forces behind the opposition to even the beginnings of a new social order in the United States and how they operate.

Therefore it is quite certain that those who are attempting to discourage the farmer's interest in a new order of things by methods of savage repression will but increase and accentuate it.

Another significant aspect of the farmer's program is that he is in politics for economic purposes as a property holder or at least as a man who intends to become one. This constitutes a different interest in social change from that of the industrial wage-earner, an interest which will have a very vital part to play in shaping an American program for a new order, for it is an essential part of the program of the Non-Partisan League to join with organized labor. Here comes this class-conscious, property-holding worker of the soil, with a very deep sense of the value of individual property for social development up to a certain point, seeking alliance with the industrial workers of the cities. Already several of the State Federations of Labor—California, New Jersey and New York—have adopted programs which are distinct from the

national program of the Federation of Labor and which are very similar in main outline to the program of the British Labor Party and also to that of the Non-Partisan League. Also there are a number of other farmer organizations moving in the same direction. All these bodies recognize for the first time that there is something generally wrong in the industrial order which is a matter of common concern to all of them. At this point, they pass out of their specialized occupational interest to get upon common ground and find a common bond with the workers of other occupations, suffering under common evils and now endeavoring to find a common release from them.

There was, for example, held at Washington during the war a conference of State Granges, State Farmers' Unions, the American Society of Equity—which is the farmers' coöperative organization in the West, the Gleaners and the National Non-Partisan League, which spent several days in working out a policy for economic reconstruction in America and for international reconstruction, to be submitted to the farmers' organizations for approval. It was finally considered in a Farmers' National Conference on Reconstruction held also at Washington.

This policy and program for economic reconstruction has some very important items in it. It starts out by indicating that the farmers are not going to commit sabotage upon the rest of us.

> It is impossible for us to organize in militant fashion for our own defense. Nothing could justify a threat on our part to refuse to produce and thereby inflict hunger, and we are therefore justified in demanding of the Government of which we are no inconsiderable part, definite action that will lead to greater production and to cheapened distribution.

The program comes out squarely for the nationalization of the natural resources of the country; "coal, iron, copper ores, water power, timber, phosphate deposits, gas and oil."

Such of these natural resources as are now in private ownership should be acquired by the Government at the earliest possible opportunity, and in such acquisition no payment should be made to the present owners for value given by nature, for good will, nor for any other intangible element, but full payment must be made for actual prudent investment.

Here is the natural bias of the farmer toward the rewards of individual energy and thrift. He does not propose that the nation shall be robbed by the speculators and parasites, but he does propose that the fruits of individual energy and thrift shall be individually conserved, so long as they are not socially harmful.

This program demands that the government shall place farming on a sound basis by certain national methods for economically marketing farm products and making credit available to farming. It faces the land problem squarely.

(c) The present unrestrained system of land tenure must be terminated. Vast holdings of productive fertile lands in a single ownership is detrimental to all legitimate agricultural interests. Tenant farming should be replaced by the more responsible system of cultivation by owners. Taxation should be used as a remedy to force into productivity idle acres held for speculation.

It is certainly high time that some steps were taken in this country to force idle land into use. A late report on idle land says there are four million acres of land in New York State not being used and held, much of it, in large estates. There are four companies whose combined holdings of land on the Pacific Coast are greater in extent than was the German Empire before the war.

This program also contains provisions regarding governmentally owned elevators, the regulation of the packing industry, the stabilizing of prices, regulation of war finance, excess profits and taxation, similar to those in the program of the Non-Partisan League. Its section on education definitely aims at the development of solidarity:

Education is the basis of all progress. Rural education sets the solid standards of our citizenship and our patriotism. It is here the ideals of American government find their bulwark. New and higher standards of citizenship must be set up in our rural schools to meet the test of the new international ethics that herald a new dawn for all humanity. Only as the rural citizen of the future learns his true relationship to industry as a whole, to his own country and to his fellowmen in other countries, can we hope for the solid upbuilding of our rural life which is the mainstay of our civilization. As measures calculated to bring about this result we favor:

(a) Raising the standards of teachers through higher wages and special courses of instruction for rural teachers.

(b) Introducing democracy by organizing into self-governing bodies as far as possible all rural schools, the children learning government by governing themselves.

(c) Teaching agriculture from an inspirational viewpoint.

(d) Federal aid in scholarships for rural teachers.

(e) Teaching history, and farm economics, and marketing.

(f) Teaching a broader patriotism based upon the establishment of justice in all relationships of industry and commerce, both national and international.

(g) Teaching modern coöperation and coöperative methods.

The future attitude of the American farmer to world affairs may be estimated from the section on International Reconstruction, which sets forth eight principles and measures that are held to be "essential to prevent wars between nations in the future":

1. Recognition of the common interests of the working people of all countries, regardless of the form of political government under which they live.

2. International control over international trade and international investment.

3. Freedom of production, and uniform and equally free exchange between all peoples.

4. Termination of all secret treaties and understandings between nations.

5. Gradual reduction of armaments.

6. International control over the occupation and development of backward countries and peoples by foreigners, subject always to the right of small and backward peoples to self-determination.

7. Complete and direct control by the peoples of every established country, of their own government.

8. Unrestricted passage for legitimate commerce, over land and sea. Wars in the future can be made impossible only by securing just economic conditions and relations within nations as well as between nations. . . . Only for the regulation and control of international relations have nations the right to combine to prevent future wars, and then only to insure the establishment of democracy between nations on the solid basis of equal rights for all and special privileges for none.

The farmers then, like the industrial workers, are approaching the international problem from the standpoint of the solidarity of the workers the world over, with a desire for equality, and a recognition of the economic basis necessary to the realization of these democratic principles, a totally different approach from that which the statesmen are now taking under compulsion of their assumed necessity to try and conserve the existing order.

A further indication of the attitude of agricultural workers toward a new order is in the resolutions adopted by the Agricultural Reconstruction Committee of the National Board of Farming Organizations when it met in January, 1919. That body stated the fundamental problem of humanity to be:

The use of the earth and its resources for the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest time.

Here then is another approach to equality and solidarity: first a perception of the common interest and need of the peoples of the world, and second the consideration of the earth and its resources from the standpoint of that common interest and need, instead of the viewpoint of special advantage. The committee then insists that any conception of reconstruction shall have certain limits. It

shall not be limited to securing the welfare of any single class or interest, but shall be designed to assure justice to the producer and consumer alike and to bring safety and prosperity to all the people of our common country.

Once again the workers of the soil disclaim a merely selfish occupational interest and stand squarely on the broad ground of the whole social welfare.

The committee states as another basic principle of reconstruction:

> That the labor of men's hands is prior in time and superior in right to accumulations of capital.

This is an adaptation of one of Lincoln's prophetic sayings. It is a fundamental economic truth upon which any sound social philosophy and political program must be based. It is further affirmed that

> government does better when it helps a poor man to make a living for his family than when it helps a rich man to make more money.

and that

> a community of interest exists among all workers, whether on or off farms, and that it should be expressed in common action for the common good.

Opposed to the common interest of the workers, there is, of course, a community of interest among the idlers, who seek to maintain their parasitic position. But if there can be developed, as the farmers desire, a common program for the general welfare, supported by workers on the soil and in the factories, in the mines and the mills, on the trains and in shops, in the stores and the offices and the kitchens, the idlers are likely soon to become a negligible factor in the community. This statement also declares that

> the public good comes first, that pay for services not rendered is an unjust charge upon the whole community; that a monopoly used for private ends is always wrong; and that the whole nation suffers when the standard of living for any class or family falls below the level of decency, efficiency and self-respect.

A great deal has been said in times past about the isolation and provincialism of the farmer, but it is doubtful if there

can be found anywhere a higher concept of, or a deeper desire for, the realization of the equality and solidarity of the human race than has been manifested here by the combined representatives of farmers' organizations.

Undoubtedly this growing rural consciousness, this developing intelligence and will of the agricultural workers, will seriously modify the program of industrial reconstruction worked out by our city dwellers. Things will not go here as they have gone in Russia, where the industrial workers have dictated the program, for this reason among others, that the rural population possessed of great vigor of body and of mind, is asserting itself and will take a large part in social reconstruction. As these different occupational interests, the agricultural and the industrial, come together in a common program, they will check the self-interest of each other and prevent it from becoming unduly predatory. They will also be helped by the teachers, who are organizing and discovering their social program in alliance with these other workers. Undoubtedly also, the farmers who have gone into politics for economic change very largely at the selling end, to protect their product, before very long will use the political machine for economic adjustment at the producing end.

Already the government is coöperating with the farmers in this endeavor, and this coöperation was greatly increased by the war-time need for great food production. Here is a typical report concerning State Aid in Pennsylvania.

In Pennsylvania, we are now engaged in plowing land with a well developed tractor service extending all over the state and numbering about 40 machines generally in charge of trained operators. This tractor department of which I am the Superintendent in Lehigh County, cooperates with the County Farm Agent and the Chairman of the Department of Equipment and Supply of the National Council of Defense. The State also provides a County Farm Labor Agent, whose business it is to search out labor needs and seek to provide the farmers with labor of some kind during the planting and harvesting season. Thus the machinery for the development of coöperation between the government

and the agriculturist in Pennsylvania has already become quite comprehensive.

The increasing collectivism in agricultural production has deep social significance. It means that the ancient communism of the workers on the soil is to be given new life and form in the conscious collectivism of the machine era, to provide a new economic base for the social order and to develop in it a new spirit. Agricultural coöperation and collectivism are developing separately and jointly all over the world. The agricultural state of Yucatan in Mexico, that benighted land which certain investing interests in this country and in Europe are now seeking to civilize, has a new constitution which commits the commonwealth to a scheme of coöperative farming with the government as the leader of the enterprise. The land cannot be sold. The title remains with the state, and individuals get a use title, which can be bequeathed, and reverts to the state if a family becomes extinct. The Government advances capital for farming, provides experts to instruct the people in agriculture, and then markets the crops to the greatest advantage.

One of the factors making for a new order is the point of view of scientific agriculture. The tendency of government departments of agriculture—state and national, and of the new farmers' organizations, is to consider farming as a public service rather than as a business for private profit. This change of values is one of the fundamental ethical transformations that has to be made in all of our economic activity if the world is to find new life. It is fitting that it should first spread most rapidly in the basic operation of food production. In his work, the farmer is dealing with one of the essential primary needs of mankind; he is in constant contact with the power of the universe. If his eyes are open, he sees the cooperative nature of the scheme of things in which we find ourselves. He ought then to be able to teach the rest of us a

great deal concerning the service functions of our daily toil.

There are certain other groups in the United States whose Reconstruction Programs need briefly to be noticed. The American Federation of Labor, representing the workers organized into trade unions, has drawn up a Reconstruction Program. It deals with such topics as Democracy in Industry, Unemployment, Wages, Hours of Labor, Child Labor and Workmen's Compensation and in these matters, suggests nothing new. It straddles on Government Ownership, advocates Coöperation for the Farmer, Federal and State Regulation of Corporations and of Land Ownership, wants the government to build houses for the workers, and to impose a progressive income inheritance and land value tax. There is a section against militarism but there is no perception of the need of any fundamental economic change, and the clearest evidence of any desire for a change in social status is in the section on education.

> Education must be not for the few but for the people; it is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage earners' children opportunity for the fullest development.

The statement ends with a bit of pious traditionalism:

> By the light that has been given to it the American Federation of Labor has attracted to its fold over three millions of wage-earners and its sphere of influence and helpfulness is growing by leaps and bounds. By having followed safe and sound fundamental principles and policies, founded on freedom, justice and democracy, the American trade union movement has achieved successes of an inestimable value to the masses of toilers of our country. By adhering to these principles and policies we can meet all problems of readjustment, however grave in importance and difficult of solution, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by a still greater success than that achieved in the past.
>
> Given the whole-hearted support of all men and women of labor our organized labor movement with its constructive program, its love for freedom, justice and democracy will prove the most potent factor in protecting, safeguarding and promoting the general welfare of the great

mass of our people during this trying period of reconstruction and all times thereafter.

The American Federation of Labor has attained its present position of dignity and splendid influence because of its adherence to one common cause and purpose; that purpose is to protect the rights and interests of the masses of the workers and to secure for them a better and a brighter day. Let us therefore strive on and on to bring into our organizations the yet unorganized. Let us concentrate our efforts to organize all the forces of wage-earners. Let the nation hear the united demand from the laboring voice. Now is the time for the workers of America to come to the stand of their unions and to organize as thoroughly and completely and compactly as is possible. Let each worker bear in mind the words of Longfellow:

"In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!"

This is not the voice of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor. It is the voice of its hierarchy, of long established office-holders with vested rights in the institution. It is the droning of the litany, which is always the same, in the ecclesiastical and political convention, the assembly of college and university presidents, or the United States Senate: "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen." Apparently in all the weary agony of world war no new light has broken into the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. Its officials are still engaged in repeating the formulæ which they learned many years ago. They are good formulæ for a certain purpose and a certain time, and those men have done valiant service for the workers of this country and of the world. But for the need of this hour they have given no voice of leadership.

If the program of the American Federation of Labor is compared with the International Charter of Labor worked out by the trade union section of the Berne Conference of Trade Unionists and Socialists, a fundamental difference is found. The Berne charter sets forth in international form the

demands for better working conditions which the craft unions have long been making, yet comes out flatly with the statement that "the emancipation of labor can be entirely realized only by the abolition of the capitalistic system itself."

> Under the wage system, the capitalists seek to increase their profit in exploiting the workers by methods which, unless the exploitation is limited by international action of the workers, would lead to the physical, moral and intellectual decay of the workers.
>
> The emancipation of labor can be entirely realized only by the abolition of the capitalist system itself. Meanwhile, the resistance of the organized workers can lessen the evil; thus the worker's health, his family life and the possibility of bettering his education, can be protected in such fashion that he may fulfil his duties as a citizen in the modern democracy. The capitalist form of production produces a competition in the various countries which puts the backward countries in a state of inferiority to the more advanced.

The Berne program advocates labor legislation and trade union action simply as a means to an end, designed to give the worker more of life and more of democracy that he may do his part in replacing the present economic order with one more efficient, both from the moral and scientific standpoint. Whereas the program of those who are only craft unionists is to make terms within the present order for the immediate improvement of the workers; it presupposes the justice and efficiency of the capitalist mode of production and merely asks a larger share in the profits for the organized body of labor. It was with such labor leaders that the Peace Conference dealt and then announced that it had given a new world to labor.

A desire for a new world is manifested by the women-workers, who have had to break their way into organized labor as into every other section of the organized life of society. The National Women's Trade Union League of America in its reconstruction policies wants out and out freedom of speech, and of the press; self-government in industry; political, legal and social equality for women:

a single standard of morality, universal protection of motherhood and a guarantee to every child of the highest possible development, physical, mental and moral;

and they reaffirm their

stand in favor of the government ownership of public utilities and the nationalization and development of natural resources in water power and unused land.

There is a line of cleavage developing within the organized workers of America, of which the organization of an independent labor party in defiance of the policy and wishes of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor is only one evidence. Several state federations of labor have recently adopted programs akin to that of the British Labor Party. The California State Federation of Labor struck still another note. Its reconstruction resolutions are phrased almost in the words of some sections of the program of the British Labor Party. Then in the final sentence it journeyed to other fields and declared:

We should stand essentially for democratic coöperation and as rapidly as possible the parasitic strata of society should be eliminated by the universal obligation to work whether by hand or brain at work socially needed.

A new leadership is breaking out of organized labor and feeling for a fundamental program of economic and social reconstruction. Inevitably this new leadership will find increasing affiliation with the toilers of the soil and the intellectual workers who also desire a new order. On the other hand, the more conservative section of the trade union forces will affiliate themselves in action with the business interests, according to the basic theory of partnership within the capitalist system on which their movement was founded. Indeed there is now little to choose between their program and that of the more enlightened section of our business organizations.

During the war, some Reconstruction Programs were put forth by business organizations of the United States. In

December, 1918, about five thousand business men, representing nearly four hundred industries, met at Atlantic City in a congress called by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The headings of the various resolutions indicate the things with which this body concerned itself and reveal what seem to its members to be the fundamental problems of the United States for the after-war period: Cancellation of War Contracts, Surplus Government Supplies; Removal of Restriction on Industries; Pivotal Industries—to be encouraged and preserved; Industrial Coöperation—defined as the duty of the government to promote reasonable coöperation between units of industry under proper supervision; it is the coöperation of business enterprise that is meant here, not coöperation on the part of producers or between producers and consumers. In dealing with the relations between government and commerce and industry, the demand is for private ownership and protection of business interests. For example, on Railroads:

> The Congress of the United States should speedily enact legislation providing for the early return, under Federal charters, to their owners of all railroads now being operated by this Government under Federal regulations permitting the elimination of wasteful competition, the pooling of equipment, combinations or consolidations through ownership or otherwise in the operation of terminals, and such other practices as will tend to economies without destroying competition in service.

And again on Taxation:

> The cession of hostitilies brings to business interests a feeling of deep concern in the matter of taxation. The problems of readjustment are made more difficult through inequalities in the present law.
>
> We believe, therefore, that in the consideration of amendments to the present act, or the passage of new revenue legislation, the Congress should give most careful consideration to the views expressed by organizations of commerce and industry. Ability to pay, inventory values, and proper reserves, together with careful survey of the amount of revenue required under the new conditions, are matters of vital importance to business interests of the Nation during this readjustment period.

Indications of a wider concern than occupational interests appear in a desire to help in the Relocation of Labor, in a demand for Public Works to meet unemployment and in the following statement on "International Reconstruction":

In war we have made common cause with the Allies. We should likewise make common cause with them in seeking the solution of the immediate problems of reconstruction which they face, because of the efforts they put forth in the war. These problems peculiarly depend for their solution upon commerce.

Raw materials and industrial equipment which we possess the Allies urgently require that they may reconstitute their economic life. We should deal generously with them in sharing these resources.

In order that we may share our materials with the Allies, we must also provide them with credits through which they may make the necessary payments.

Concerning Industrial Relations the Convention heartily indorsed in letter and spirit the principles of the industrial creed read to it by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "without approving or rejecting his particular plan or machinery." The principles advanced by Mr. Rockefeller are as follows:

1. Labor and capital are partners, not enemies; their interests are common interests, not opposed, and neither can attain the fullest measure of prosperity at the expense of the other but only in association with the other.

2. The purpose of industry is quite as much to advance social well-being as material well-being and in the pursuit of that purpose the interests of the community should be carefully considered, the well-being of the employees as respects living and world conditions should be fully guarded, management should be adequately recognized, and capital should be justly compensated, and failure in any of these particulars means loss to all.

3. Every man is entitled to an opportunity to earn a living, to fair wages, to reasonable hours of work and proper working conditions, to a decent home, to the opportunity to play, to learn, to worship, and to love, as well as to toil, and the responsibility rests as heavily upon industry as upon government or society to see that these conditions and opportunities prevail.

4. Industry, efficiency, and initiative, wherever found, should be encouraged and adequately rewarded, and indolence, indifference, and restriction of production should be discountenanced.

5. The provision of adequate means for uncovering grievances, and promptly adjusting them, is of fundamental importance to the successful conduct of industry.

6. The most potent measure in bringing about industrial harmony and prosperity is adequate representation of the parties in interest; existing forms of representation should be carefully studied and availed of in so far as they may be found to have merit and are adaptable to the peculiar conditions in the various industries.

7. The application of right principles never fails to effect right relations; the letter killeth and the spirit maketh alive; forms are wholly secondary while attitude and spirit are all important, and only as the parties in industry are animated by the spirit of fair play, justice to all, and brotherhood, will any plans which they may mutually work out succeed.

8. That man renders the greatest social service who so coöperates in the organization of industry as to afford to the largest number of men the greatest opportunity for self-development and the enjoyment by every man of those benefits which his own work adds to the wealth of civilization.

The realization of this set of principles would mean a very great advance in the industrial life of the United States but they operate entirely within the present economic order. They presuppose that identity of economic interest can be secured within that system and solidarity of social welfare promoted by it, whereas the swift movement of world events seems to invalidate that assumption.

In the program of this business convention there is not apparent any desire for a new social order; there is no evidence of any understanding of the perilous condition in which the present political and economic order both stand, or of the determination of the common people the world over to change not only their social condition but also the causes that have led to that condition. What is significant in this program is not the things that are said but the silences; the silences are more eloquent and more pregnant for the future than the utterances. Why is it that in the program of the business interests there is no such vision of equality and solidarity, no such throbbing of the passion for brotherhood as appears in

the program of the farmer? Is it because under our present economic order the business interests are necessarily short-sighted and self-contained? Is that the inevitable situation into which the captain of industry who wants to be a public servant is finally put by the capitalistic mode of production? Is he continuously restricted in vision to the task of safeguarding his own economic independence, increasing his own competence and making profits for others? Is it inevitable that he is increasingly limited to less understanding and vision of the great human needs of industry and to continually increased absorption in the material and mechanical side of his service to the community? Is it because the farmer's occupational interest deals more directly with human needs and values that he has a bigger program of justice and fraternity for the race?

Other programs in which business men have found expression do not advance beyond an attempt to work out with organized labor some better industrial conditions. The National Civic Federation for example, through its Reconstruction Committee, presents, as the ultimate object of its program, trade agreements, to be worked out with the leaders of the present Federation of Labor. It is good for business and labor leaders to sit around the same table and consider how labor and capital can get along together with the least friction for their mutual advantage, but it would make for more progress to utilize the opportunity to jointly consider how the present order can be so modified as to give a really new life to the great masses of the toilers.

The same limitation of point of view appears in the matters considered in the programs of organizations that represent the intellectual workers. For instance, the set of reconstruction principles adopted by the Illinois Chapter of the American Institute of Architects deals with wages, freedom to work, standards of labor, safeguards against waste, and state coun-

cils to adjudicate disputes—all of them proposals to reduce friction. The program of the National Municipal League adopted in its Conference on Reconstruction at Rochester, deals almost entirely with the advisability of continuing the government control that had been exercised in war time over certain economic functions. The convention of the Popular Government League which met at Washington during the war, did not get beyond the point of discussing the adjustment of conflicts within the present order. The City Club of New York in its reconstruction program deals with the conditions of life and labor for wage-earners, advocates improved housing and education; and workmen's compensation. Is it then the height of our ambition to put into effect the program of social welfare that was carried out in Germany before the war? Public service bureaus and welfare measures are necessary to social progress, but all these things were under way before the war and it should be presumed that they will go on. They represent no adequate outlet for the new spirit and the tremendous mobilization of human energy that has been developed during the world struggle.

It is significant that no principles or program for a new order have been put forward by the social workers of this country or by the teachers, who are social workers in the broadest and truest sense of the term. Is it because they have no philosophy of society, because they are so engrossed in the present task? Is it an evidence of the limitation of their concept of the nature of the work to which these social idealists have given themselves, that they have now no common voice and no great vision of a new order of things to give to the world? Of course, within these groups as within the business group, there are a large number of individuals who have a great deal to offer to the world-wide search for a new social order, both in the way of vision and of teaching. But by virtue of the fact that they are social workers, there is a col-

lective function for social workers to perform in bringing in the new order, which they have yet to find as a body.

The war has not forced this country to think as it did Europe. Its effects were not so manifest here. With the removal of the inhibition of war time upon the processes of reason and discussion, both from the government and from hysterical public opinion, some real contribution to the world-wide discussion of a new social order may be looked for from this nation. Here the intellectual workers and business men should be able in sympathy and understanding to fully cross the lines of their occupational interests, for most of them are not far removed from the farm or the workshop. Here, more than anywhere else, there should develop a common focussing of the idealists of all occupations upon the common ground of what ought to be. Here, if anywhere, intellectuals of the middle class should be able to work out a common social program with the rest of the workers, because of the degree to which they are engaged in the technical employments of industry and agriculture. Unless the middle class of the United States permits itself to be betrayed by the illusion of its own self-interest and then seduced by the promised rewards of the present order, it will make a powerful contribution to the making of a new world. It has at its command an exceptional amount of knowledge and of organizing ability. With all its faults and despite its temporary abdication of functions during the war, it has a genuine passion for democracy. If it will now unite its technique and its passion, it can greatly serve all the children of men.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCHES

It will doubtless be an occasion of surprise to not a few people that the churches should have any program for a new social order, because of the fact that their work in this country has been confined so largely, until very recent times, to the life of the individual. They have assumed that society would take care of itself if the individuals were made religious. But during the last ten years the churches have been declaring themselves concerning the relation of religion to the social order. In 1908 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing over thirty Protestant denominations, adopted a report on the Church and Modern Industry in the course of which it pledged itself to stand for a set of industrial and social standards, which has since been colloquially called "The Social Creed of the Churches." This statement, which follows, has since been affirmed separately by the leading denominations in their national gatherings, and declares that the churches stand:

For equal rights, and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

For the protection of the family, by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, and proper housing.

For the fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of proper education and recreation.

For the abolition of child labor.

For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

For the abatement and prevention of poverty.

For the protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic.

For the conservation of health.

For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, injuries and mortality.

For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, and for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.

For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

For a release from employment one day in seven.

For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all, which is a condition of the highest human life.

For a living wage as a minimum in every industry and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

For the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

For the right of employees and employers alike to organize.

For a new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property.

It will be noticed that most of these standards have to do with the immediate improvement of social and industrial conditions, and are the common objective, already partly realized, of a number of labor, social and political organizations. At several points however,—when it touches equality of rights and justice, the division of the product of industry, the development of the child and the acquisition and use of property—this statement pledges the churches to general principles which if followed to their conclusion would result in a new social order.

During the war, some significant statements concerning industrial and social reconstruction have been issued by several church bodies. These statements are the result, directly and indirectly, of the development of the Social Service movement in the churches of Great Britain and the United States. The intellectual and spiritual foundation of this movement is the growing conviction that religion must be founded squarely upon an ethical basis, must find its fulfillment in conduct, and in the conduct of society, not merely that of separate in-

dividuals. This social service movement, which both marks and occasions a change in the thought and life of all the churches, has set for itself a twofold task. On the one hand it has sought to engage the churches in those practical tasks of community service which would express religion in relation to all the needs and ends of community life; on the other hand it has been a movement for the application of the principles of religion in the organization of human society. It has endeavored to analyze the present social order in the light of the ideals of religion and seeks to secure whatever changes in the social structure, and in its motives and spirit, may be required for the expression of religious ideals. So it is, at one and the same time, a call to the churches to engage in practical community service and to seek the realization of the ideal social order in so far as that may be obtainable in time and space. It believes that when Jesus came preaching, and taught his followers to pray for, the Kingdom of God upon earth, He committed himself and them to seek such transformation of human life as would bring it into harmony with the eternal justice, righteousness and love. It therefore endeavors to discover what social obligations in the present time are laid upon those who have accepted the principles that Jesus taught.

The relation of the church to social change is twofold. It is quite evident that the church has always been a conserving institution in society. To many radicals that appears to be its only function, a function of inhibition and even of repression. There are obvious reasons why the church will of necessity be a force for conservatism. As an institution it has manifestly a large vested interest in the existing order. If it be a state church it is automatically interested in perpetuating the form of government which guarantees its revenues. If it be a free church, voluntarily sustained, as it becomes older, with large overhead charges and expensive machinery to

maintain, it tends to secure an increasing proportion of its support from the people of property and therefore again acquires a large vested interest in the existing economic order. The church has not secured complete liberty by separation from the state. It thereby freed itself from the repressive hand of the political system, but as long as the church is an organization requiring large revenues, it is in danger of subservience to the financial system and will be more or less controlled, directly and indirectly, by property interests. To that extent it is predisposed as an institution to the maintenance of the present order.

Altogether aside from that practical fact, among all social institutions the church preëminently preserves the past. Its creeds and ceremonies prolong the power of the dead hand with greater power than the majesty of the law. The roots of religion run as far back in human living as the vital associations of the family, government and industry, and are intertwined with all of them. Also, they run deeper into the inner life of man, they grip the subconscious part of existence, which is so powerful because so little understood. Our modern faiths with their scientific attitudes run back of course to the primitive superstitions of primitive folk, to the first attempts of mankind to conquer life and the universe without any knowledge, and this is the fundamental reason why the churches are slow to change. They are the organized expression of the instinct for fellowship with the unseen, for communion with the infinite, which was forced in the beginning to satisfy itself in very primitive terms, and then became dogma almost as soon as it ceased to be superstition, because it was dealing with matters for which there were long no means of verification. So that religion has been perhaps the least amenable to the progress of science, and the slowest to profit from the enlargement of knowledge, of any of the aspects of human life. It was easier to apply the scientific method to the other as-

pects of man's life, to his government or his economic endeavor than to his religion. So that the church more than any other institution tends to perpetuate the ignorance and fears of the past.

Yet that is only half the truth. There is another aspect to the relationship of the church to social change, for religion is fundamentally revolutionary as well as conservative. It proclaims an ideal life, therefore it constantly challenges the individual to change his ways. Its central message is not to "quit your meanness" but "Ye must be born again." Its gospel is concerned with what ought to be, not with the maintenance of what is. Its message is of an ideal community as well as an ideal individual, the one dependent upon the other, to be progressively and interdependently realized. It proclaims the possibility of a better order of living for the world as well as for the individual, indeed its very life depends upon the continuance of its demand and the success of its struggle for a new and better order of living.

So despite all the conserving influences of the church, the churches have continually produced prophets because the ideal element in religion will not be denied; it is a revolutionary dynamic. Even more than education does religion create discontent with an imperfect social order, because even more than education is it charged with the proclamation of the ideal. The Hebrew and Christian religions unite the ideal and the practical, the revolutionary and the conservative elements of religion because their goal is frankly a City of God established on the earth, a community life in which man may satisfy his hunger for the eternal to some extent in time and space, in which his passion for the ideal may get some satisfaction while he yet lives. Hence the true leaders of the church have always in greater or less degree been compelled to meddle with the associated affairs of mankind, to the disturbance of the world as well as the discomfort of their fol-

lowers. The churches cannot escape this duty because their business is not to promise that man shall realize the best that is in him in some future world, but to guarantee that in this present life he shall so do by seeing to it that he makes some measurable progress in the direction of his ideal. The prophets in particular are disturbers of the peace, but without them there would be no new order. Therefore the measure of the influence of the church for social progress is the degree to which it produces prophets, even though it stone them, and then garnish their tombs. By its vested interests as an institution, the church is tied to the old order, by the nature of its gospel it is bound to the new. Therefore the service the church may render in a day of social change depends upon the degree to which it exalts its prophetic function over its administrative business.

In discussing this matter, it is continually assumed that the churches are separate social institutions with a distinct function apart from the other aspects of life. One of the fallacies of our thinking is to continually conceive government and religion, the state and the church, or any other institutions, as though they were separate social entities, whereas these social institutions are but forms of expression for certain aspects of our living, all of them inseparable intertwined; so that the same people appear at different times in the church, the workshop and the polling booth. The churches are simply the people in one aspect of their life. It is not really correct then to ask what we expect the churches to do for a new social order; we should ask what we expect the churches to help us to do for ourselves. The question of what religion will do to make a new world is the question of what the religious part of our lives is going to help the rest of our lives to do. It is then broadly the question of making the whole of life religious. Of course if the churches do not adequately perform the function of enabling the religious aspect of life

to get a larger and fuller expression in all the activities of the social order, some other agency will assume and perform that duty. This religious side of our nature is not to be repressed, subdued or denied, it will come to its own. It is an inseparable, imperishable part of human life.

The churches, seeking to make life religious, have a twofold function in society. One is prophetic and the other educational. They are to show the future to mankind; they are to proclaim what ought to be over against what is, and they are to arouse the will of man to achieve what ought to be. But also they are to show the way; they are to teach mankind how to reach the goal of its ideal.

Therefore the task of the churches in relation to a new social order, will be to proclaim and expound certain fundamental principles as the basis of social organization. The three fundamental social principles of the Christian religion are the value of personality, the necessity of brotherhood, the law of service. It seeks the fullest possible realization of personality for all individuals; it teaches that this is only to be found in the widest and deepest possible fellowship of all men with all other men in mutual service to the common needs and the common development. It asserts that in this effort after justice and righteousness and brotherhood men may find God to the fullest degree, that it is possible to find Him in time and space. Therefore organized Christianity must continually judge the present social order by these principles. By them it must test the political and economic aspects of life and declare its findings without evasion or reservation, in order that the world may be convinced of sin, of righteousness and of judgment, and so seek a better way of life. The prophets and Jesus were preachers of doom to those who were at ease and well content with the world as it was. This unpleasant task the leaders of religion may not evade, lest the world perish in its sins, imagining itself to be righteous, as did the Pharisees.

From time to time the church must cry aloud the dread consequence to any social order which violates the fundamental principles by which alone human progress has ever been secured. As it thus calls men separately and collectively to repentance, as it challenges them to believe in and work for the realization of the ideal, the church lays the foundation and develops the dynamic for a new order of things.

The continuance of the constructive task of the church in relation to social change is to constantly assess the measures proposed in any generation for the embodying and expression of the social principles it proclaims. In the main, the drafting and promotion and administration of these measures lies elsewhere, along with many aspects of the discussion of them, but it is for the church to discuss all proposed measures of social change in the light of the principles which it declares to be eternal, not because they dropped from the sky but because the test of long human experience has proved them to make for the highest good of humanity and has therefore justified the belief that they are the essential principles of the universe. The church then discusses social questions under the aspect of eternity and also under the aspect of the universal community. When there is no other place in the community where proposed social innovations may find a hearing the church should provide an open forum for the presentation of all points of view, regardless of whether or not the church or the community likes to hear them. Manifestly the function of the church in matters of social change is not ended with the promotion of discussion. Because its gospel proclaims a new life, it must ever stimulate social experimentation for the further expression of that gospel. It is bound to urge its members in their social relationships to be a little ahead of their times and to constantly seek methods for the more general realization of their ideals. Herein is the statesmanship of the church. In performing this function, organized religion be-

comes a social reality and abundantly justifies itself as a social institution that society cannot afford to do without. Any form of social order must needs provide by some means or other for the maintenance of religious institutions, in order that they may by prophecy and teaching constantly bring life nearer to the ideal.

That the churches have in some measure been attempting to fulfill their social functions in the manner just described is manifest from the programs and reports of their various Social Service Commissions.[1] It is still further apparent in the following statements that have been issued during and immediately after the war.[2]

The first inquiry concerning these statements is whether they manifest any definite conviction concerning the immediate necessity for a new social order. That the churches have long proclaimed the principles of equality, fraternity,

[1] "A Year Book of the Church and Social Service in the United States:" Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York.

[2] "Christianity and Industrial Problems," Report of Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry, Church of England, 1918. Macmillan Company, New York.

"The Next Step in Social and Industrial Reconstruction," Committee on War and the Social Order, London Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1917–1918. The Book House, 17 N. State St., Chicago.

"Social Reconstruction," Pronouncement of Administrative Committee, National Catholic War Council, signed by Bishops Muldoon of Rockford, Schrembs of Toledo, Hayes of Tagaste, Russell of Charleston; 1919; 930 Fourteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

"Evangelism and Social Service;" "The Church, the War, and Patriotism," Reports adopted by General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Canada, 1918; Department of Social Service and Evangelism, Wesley Bldgs. Toronto, Canada.

Manifesto, English Church Socialist League, published in The World Tomorrow, 118 E. 28th St., New York City, January, 1919, page 19.

Report of Social Service Commission, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1916 and 1919, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City.

"Christianity and Industrial Problems," Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, General War Time Commission, Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City. (In Preparation).

the supremacy of personality and the solidarity of the human family is undoubted. The question is to what degree have they perceived that these principles require an order of living other than that which we call civilization.

In referring to these statements, the abbreviated name of the body that produced them will be used.

The English Church Socialist League takes a negative view, declaring that the

> Church as a whole is failing to maintain the ideals and standards it has so long proclaimed, and is aiming to achieve not the salvation of society, but the mere 'stability' of the existing order.

The Church of England report believes that the time has come for a change of attitude:

> This summary conclusion of all the reflection and discussion and prayer which we have given to the important group of subjects submitted to us is the desire that a call as of a trumpet should go forth to the Church to reconsider the moral and social meaning and bearings of its faith, and, having estimated afresh their importance in the full presentation of the Christian message to the world, to be prepared to make the sacrifices involved in acting frankly and fully upon the principles of brotherhood and of the equal value of every single human life.
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> We have neglected to attack the forces of wrong. We have been content with the ambulance work when we ought to have been assaulting the strongholds of evil. We have allowed avarice and selfishness and grinding competition to work havoc over the broad spaces of human life. We want a strenuous reaffirmation of the principles of justice, mercy and brotherhood as sovereign over every department of human life.
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> The proper attitude for the Church is, not to consider what kind of teaching is popular or unpopular, but to teach what is right, irrespective of consequences. Nor does it escape the charge of 'tuning its pulpits' merely by silence. Just as there are circumstances in which inaction is a kind—perhaps a wrong kind—of action, so there are circumstances in which silence is a kind—perhaps a wrong kind—of teaching. It is no more "unbiassed" to support a status quo than it is to work for a revolu-

tion. To ignore what is wicked in industrial life is not to be impartial. It is to condone wickedness.

. . . . . .

The conclusions which we have reached are to our minds the direct implications of the Creed of the Church. The call which is sounding in this day of world-judgment is that we should not only hold the Faith, but re-order our life, social as well as personal, in accordance with its principles.

The London Friends in their report feel that:

Before steps are suggested for the removal of admitted evils there should be a much more definite and far-reaching statement of the ultimate ideals aimed at.

They therefore formulated a statement of principles "in the hope that this may be adopted by the Society of Friends as an expression of what may be called the Quaker Social Faith":

1. The Fatherhood of God, as revealed by Jesus Christ, should lead us toward a Brotherhood which knows no restriction of race, sex or social class.

2. This Brotherhood should express itself in a social order which is directed, beyond all material ends, to the growth of personality truly related to God and man.

3. The fullest opportunity of development, physical, moral and spiritual, should be assured to every member of the community, man, woman and child. The development of men's full personality should not be hampered by unjust conditions nor crushed by economic pressure.

4. We should seek for a way of living that will free us from the bondage of material things and mere conventions, that will raise no barriers between man and man, and will put no excessive burden of labor upon any by reason of our superfluous demands.

5. The spiritual force of righteousness, loving kindness and trust is mighty because of the appeal it makes to the best in every man, and when applied to industrial relations achieves great things.

6. Our rejection of the methods of outward domination and of the appeal to force applies not only to international affairs but to the whole problem of industrial control. Not through antagonism but through coöperation and good-will can the best be attained for each and all.

7. Mutual service should be the principle upon which life is organized. Service, not private gain, should be the motive of all work.

8. The ownership of material things, such as land and capital, should be so regulated as best to minister to the need and development of man.

Again the Church of England report goes to the root of the matter.

"Christian opinion," stated the Committee of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops of 1897, "ought to condemn the belief that economic conditions are to be left to the action of material causes and mechanical laws." This conception of the nature of society and of the scope of religion is one which Christians cannot accept and which would probably, indeed, be repudiated by the better mind of all who reflect upon its implications. It would tend, if dominant, to the exclusion of Christian ethics from the whole world of economic activity and of social relations, and would result in the triumph of economic Machiavellism which says that 'business is business' as some nations have said that 'war is war.' It need not, indeed, be denied that such a view of life produces results which are outwardly brilliant and imposing in the world both of politics and industry. By relieving men of the moral restraints which control the strong and protect the weak, it simplifies their problems, and enables them to concentrate on the organization of power, power to govern or power to produce. It converts society into a potent engine for the accumulation of material wealth, because it encourages a singleminded concentration on the pursuit of economic efficiency. It is the natural creed of the Napoleons and Bismarcks of the world, whether their sphere be war or politics or industry. That industry is a mechanism in which methods of organization and social relationships are to be determined by considerations of economic expediency—this doctrine has for a century had a wide influence in moulding industrial organization and social life. Those who yield to its glittering allurements have their reward. It offers them power, affluence, material comfort, 'all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.'

The appeal of this conception is impressive. But, whatever spectacular achievements it may have to its credit, the spirit which would divorce economic activity from religious considerations is distinctly and peculiarly unchristian. It is unchristian not only in its failures but even more in its successes. It does not accept the ideals of the New Testament and fail to attain them. It has an ideal which is different, and which, superficially perhaps, is more plausible. For Christianity regards society, not as a machine, but as an association of men, the ultimate object of which is to promote the development of the human spirit and its preparation for the Kingdom of God.

. . . . . .

We have endeavored to avoid the fallacy of ascribing to any particular economic order what are the faults or deficiencies of human nature, or of allowing the incidental and exceptional features of industrial life to prejudice our judgment with regard to its normal characteristics.

But when every allowance has been made both for the good qualities elicited by the industrial system and for the incidental defects which are likely to be found in any system whatever, we, nevertheless, find it impossible to resist the conclusion that, in certain fundamental respects, that system itself is gravely defective. It is defective not merely in the sense that industrial relations are embittered by faults of temper and lack of generosity on the part of the employer, of the employed, and of the general public alike, but because the system itself makes it exceedingly difficult to carry into practice the principles of Christianity. Its faults are not the accidental or occasional maladjustments of a social order the general spirit and tendency of which can be accepted as satisfactory by Christians. They are the expressions of certain deficiencies deeply rooted in the nature of that order itself. They appear in one form or another not in this place or in that, but in every country which has been touched by the spirit, and has adopted the institutions, of modern industrialism. To remove them it is necessary to be prepared for such changes as will remove the deeper causes of which they are the result.

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We recognize, indeed, that the large changes which are necessary must be carried out gradually, in a spirit of tolerance and of mutual charity and forbearance. But we think that it is precisely the general economic organization of society which is, in some respects, defective; that the efforts of Christians should be directed not merely to attacking particular evils as they arise, but to discovering and removing the roots from which they spring, and that Christian teaching supplies a sufficient motive to make practicable any change which is right. It is not enough, therefore, merely to cope with those defects in our economic life which have become so clamorous or sensational as to attract general attention, for by the time that they are sensational they may have become almost incapable of peaceful removal. It is necessary to make such changes in the normal organization of society as may prevent them from arising. The solution of the industrial problem involves, in short, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself.

As these various church bodies analyze the modern social order from the standpoint of ethical and religious ideals there appears a general conviction that the prime reason for its violation of those ideals lies in its economic arrangements, their manner and their motive. The English Church Socialist League urges:

the redemption of the mass of the people from exploitation and economic servitude,

and protests against attempting to adjust:

the industrial future of Britain on "principles of reconstruction" which assume as their basis an identity of aim and interest between capital and labor. We affirm that no such identity as regards fundamentals either does or ought to exist. The wage system involves a spiritual subjection of the worker which is a denial of the essential claims of human personality. Every increase of social authority and economic power gained by the controllers of capital—whether financiers, merchants, or manufacturers—renders that subjection more permanent and more complete. We call on all Churchmen to oppose and reject any imagined "settlement" of industry, however described, which perpetuates the spiritual degradation of the worker by treating him as a tool for the purposes of others.

The Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have recently said:

It is increasingly manifest that there must be progress away from selfish competition to unselfish coöperation in that struggle for daily bread which is the largest single fact in the life of the majority of men in any community. If this progress is to be orderly and not violent we must leave behind us the evils which lead to deplorable violence or counter violence by either party. If Christianity is a driving force, making for democracy, we cannot put a limit upon the extension of democracy; we must recognize the inevitability of the application of democracy to industry. While we rejoice in the adoption of all such ameliorative measures as better housing and various forms of social insurance, we call for the more thoroughgoing emphasis on human freedom, which will make democratic progress mean the enlargement and enrichment of the life of the masses of mankind through the self-directive activity of men themselves.

We favor an equitable wage for laborers, which shall have the right of way over rent, interest and profits.

We favor collective bargaining, as an instrument for the attainment of industrial justice and for training in democratic procedure.

And we also favor advance of the workers themselves through profit sharing and through positions on boards of directorship.

The American Catholic statement says:

Nevertheless, the present system stands in grievous need of considerable modifications and improvement. Its main defects are three: Enor-

mous inefficiency and waste in the production and distribution of commodities; insufficient incomes for the great majority of wage-earners, and unnecessarily large incomes for a small minority of privileged capitalists.

Above and before all, he (the employer) must cultivate and strengthen within his mind the truth which many of his class have begun to grasp for the first time during the present war; namely, that the laborer is a human being, not merely an instrument of production; and that the laborer's right to a decent livelihood is the first moral charge upon industry. The employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has no right to interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages. This is the human and Christian, in contrast to the purely commercial and pagan, ethics of industry.

The Canadian Methodists declare that

the present economic system stands revealed as one of the roots of war

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The war has made more clearly manifest the moral perils inherent in the system of production for profits; condemnation of special individuals seems often unjust and always futile. The system, rather than the individual, calls for change.

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The ethics of Jesus demand nothing less than the transfer of the whole economic life from the basis of competition and profit to one of coöperation and service.

The Church of England report says:

If it is true—and who can doubt it?—that the sanctity of personality is a fundamental idea of Christian teaching, it is evident that Christians are bound to judge their industrial organization by that principle and to ask whether in modern industry human beings are regarded always as ends and never as means.

. . . . . .

It would not be unfair to say that large numbers of working people are at the present time employed on terms which suggest that they are means to the production of wealth rather than themselves the human end for whom wealth is produced. They too often have cause to feel that they are directed by an industrial autocracy, which is sometimes, indeed, both kindly and capable, but which is repugnant to them precisely because it is an autocracy, and because, in so far as it controls their

means of livelihood, it also, not the less certainly because often unconsciously, controls their lives. The conditions of their work may be determined not by them, but for them, and may be determined by the financial interests of persons who are responsible neither to them nor to the community and whose primary interest may not be the welfare of the workers but the profitableness of the business.

. . . . . .

Industry exists for man, not man for industry, and we cannot believe in the stability of any society, however imposing its economic triumphs, if it cripples the personality of its workers or if it deprives them of that control over the material conditions of their own lives which is the essence of practical freedom. Christianity above all religions has fostered a keen sense of the value of every individual, and Christians cannot acquiesce in the undue subordination of human beings to the exigencies of any mechanical or economic system."

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The fundamental evil of modern industrialism is that it encourages competition for private gain instead of coöperation for public service.

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The conception of industry as a selfish competitive struggle is unchristian. Industry ought to be regarded primarily as a social service, based on the effort of every individual to discharge his duty to his neighbor and to the community.

The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all. There is no moral justification for the burden upon the community of the idle or self-indulgent, or for social institutions which encourage them, and no inherited wealth or position can dispense any member of the Christian society from establishing by work his claim to maintenance, on the principle laid down by St. Paul.

It appears then that both the profit and the wage system, the two basic elements in the present economic order, are held by competent judges to be at variance with the ideals of the Christian religion. The same verdict also appears concerning the place of private property in the present order.

The Canadian Methodists:

The obligation under which we live in dealing with such vital issues as land tenure, taxation, housing, city planning, systems of insurance, and industrial, economic, and fiscal control, etc., demand that the life

interests of the mass of the people must in every case transcend the class of an individual, or group of individuals, in profits or property.

. . . . . .

We condemn speculation in land, grain, food-stuffs, and natural resources, as well as the frequent capture of unearned wealth through over-capitalization of commercial enterprises, We place the principle of the Golden Rule before the man who seeks wealth by investment, and then endeavors to escape impending loss by unloading upon others. These are dangerous forms of economic injustice in which we cannot engage without sin. Is there not in our Church a wide-spread call for repentance and confession of sin in this regard?

The Church of England:

We would urge our fellow Christians to ask themselves once more whether an economic system which produces the striking and, as we think, excessive, inequalities of wealth which characterize our present society is one which is compatible with the spirit of Christianity or in which a Christian community ought to acquiesce.

. . . . . .

The pursuit of wealth as an end in itself creates an atmosphere in which right social relations are hardly attainable, and in which it is difficult not only for the rich, but for all classes, to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. For, whether it results in the selfishness which prefers the life of individual self-advancement to the life of fellowship, or the parsimony which grudges expenditure on all but utilitarian purposes, or the extravagance which diverts human energy from fruitful labor to the multiplication of luxuries, it fosters the spirit which justifies, too often, indeed which glorifies, the subordination of human beings to considerations of material success.

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In particular, the doctrine sometimes advanced, that a man is free to do what he likes with his own, that all men are justified in following their own pecuniary interests to the fullest extent allowed by law, and that social well-being will incidentally, but certainly result from their efforts to further their own self-interest, is definitely anti-Christian.

It need not be denied, indeed, that this spirit has given a strong impetus to productive efficiency. It would appear, however, to be alien to the teaching of Christianity. If this is so, the Church, whose function it is not to show society how to be rich but to show it how to be Christian, ought not to be dazzled by imposing material achievements into distrusting its own creed. It is possible that society may have to choose

between being Christian and being rich, as in other ages men have had to choose between Christianity and prosperity, comfort, or life itself.

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It is important for it (the church) to insist, for example, that the duty of personal work is incumbent on all, that idleness, and institutions which encourage idleness, whether among rich or poor, are wrong, that the primary function of industry is social service, not merely personal gain, that a man is bound to judge his economic activities not by the profits which they bring to himself, but by the contribution which they make to the well-being of others; that it is wrong to take advantage of the necessities of the public or of private individuals to drive a hard and profitable bargain; that it is wrong to adulterate goods or to charge exorbitant prices for them; that an industry which can only be carred on by methods which degrade human beings ought not to be carried on at all; that property is not held by absolute right on an individual basis, but is relative to the good of society as a commonweal; that if an institution is socially harmful no vested interest is a valid plea for maintaining it.

The London Friends:

In the ideal state of Society we believe that all property, with the exception of such things as are necessary for personal and household use, should be owned communally. This conclusion is based on the following principles, which we hold to be true:

(1) The chief purpose of life is the creation of spiritual values.

(2) This purpose is interfered with, both in their own lives and in those of others, when men's efforts are directed to the acquisition, protection and extension of private property.

(3) This purpose is furthered when men's efforts are directed to the service of the common weal.

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With regard to interest we believe that if property were held by the community it would be right to make a fixed charge for its use by individuals.

The American Catholics:

Nevertheless, the full possibilities of increased production will not be realized so long as the majority of the workers remain mere wage-earners. The majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production. They can be enabled to reach this stage gradually through coöperative productive societies and co-partnership arrangements. In the former, the workers own and manage the indus-

tries themselves; in the latter they own a substantial part of the corporate stock and exercise a reasonable share in the management. However slow the attainment of these ends, they will have to be reached before we can have a thoroughly efficient system of production, or an industrial and social order that will be secure from the danger of revolution. It is to be noted that this particular modification of the existing order, though far-reaching and involving to a great extent the abolition of the wage system, would not mean the abolition of private ownership. The instruments of production would still be owned by individuals, not by the State.

. . . . . .

The laborer must come to realize that he owes his employer and society an honest day's work in return for a fair wage, and that conditions cannot be substantially improved until he roots out the desire to get a maximum of return for a minimum of service. The capitalist must likewise get a new viewpoint. He needs to learn the long-forgotten truth that wealth is stewardship, that profit-making is not the basic justification of business enterprise, and that there are such things as fair profits, fair interest and fair prices.

But why a different ethical principle for the laborer than for the capitalist? Why should not the capitalist also learn that he must not expect to get the maximum return for the minimum service? The wrong motive that is here charged off entirely to the wage-earner should be charged off to the profit system whose aim it is to get the maximum return for the minimum service. This is modified only in so far as it becomes apparent that service is so meager as to prevent the long run maximum return. What capitalist and wage-earner alike must learn is that all men must be subject to the law of maximum service, and then the return will take care of itself.

In addition to some unanimity of judgment concerning the unchristian features of the present order, and concerning the main principles around which a Christian order would develop, it further appears that the churches have also come to a measure of agreement concerning some of the general policies necessary to the expression in society of the Christian ideal. They are largely agreed concerning the necessity of industrial

democracy, that it involves the right of the workers to share in the management of industry and finally requires the cooperative organization of the industrial process.

The American Protestants:

Christian democracy applied to industry means the development of coöperative relations to the fullest possible extent. The church should therefore clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible coöperative control and ownership of industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends, in order that men may be spurred to develop the methods that shall express this principle.

When all who participate in industry shall become coöperators with each other and coworkers with God in the service of humanity, using the materials which he has provided for the common good, and not for selfish advantage, then will industry become a religious experience developing mutual service and sacrifice, the expression in economic terms of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

The American Catholics:

The right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through representatives has been asserted above in connection with the discussion of the War Labor Board. It is to be hoped that this right will never again be called in question by any considerable number of employers. In addition to this, labor ought gradually to receive greater representation in what the English group of Quaker employers have called the "industrial" part of business management.

The London Friends:

Fellowship is the very essence of our Christian profession, and its practical expression in industry involves the fullest measure of democratic control. In industry, as at present organized, this will mean a progressive devolution of responsibility upon every grade of employee and wide opportunity for those who show special qualifications to occupy the more responsible positions, not as autocrats, but in the spirit of service, and as interpreters of the common will.

We recognize, however, that society is composed of consumers. The sovereignty of the corporate organization of consumers must therefore be maintained for the purpose of adjusting the relations between producers and consumers and between different sets of producers, and ensuring production for use and not for profit.

The English Church Socialist League:

It is only upon the activities of a reconstructed and developed trade unionism that a democratic socialist community can base its economic life. The process of attaining this goal will involve a struggle against those "having great possessions" and the vested interests of wealth and power. But the Church Socialist League, so far from deploring such a struggle, sees in it an essential aspect of that conflict with the "world" to which at his baptism every child of God is called.

The Church of England:

That the true life of man is the life of brotherhood, not of strife; that the true wealth of a body politic consists in the persons composing it, to whom the use of all forms of property should be subservient; that industry rightly conceived is a social service, not a selfish competitive struggle; that all men who labor have the right to live honorably by their labor, and all men the duty to labor in order to live; that there is no moral justification for the burden upon the community of the idle or self-indulgent, or for social institutions which encourage them; that the resources of a Christian community must be used to provide necessaries for all, before they are applied to providing luxuries for a few; these truths we hold for self-evident, and we believe that the economic life of a Christian society must be based upon them.

. . . . . .

Coöperation for Public Service, not Competition for Private Gain, the true principle of Industry.

. . . . . .

We cannot believe that what is at best a too exclusive concentration upon material gain, and at worst a selfish individualism, can be the last word of man's social development, or that the inevitable consequence of economic progress must be the excessive predominance in society of economic motives which exists to day. The purpose of industry, which is the conquest of nature by skill and science and enterprise for the service of man, is fundamentally a noble one. Its spirit should be as noble. It should be one of coöperation rather than of intense and sometimes embittered rivalry. It should find room in the qualities which it demands for something of the chivalrous self-sacrifice of the soldier, of the disinterested devotion of the scientist, or doctor, or administrator, of the temper of loyalty and mutual confidence which springs from a life of corporate endeavor and achievement, and should appeal at once to the artistic faculties of the craftsman and to the statesmanship of the organizer.

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Industry is a social function, and is carried on to serve the community.

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It should, in short, be social in purpose and coöperative in spirit.

There is also some conviction evident among the churches that the application of the principles of democracy and of Christianity to economic affairs require some measures of nationalization.

The English Church Socialist League:

State control, as at present exercised, leaves the capitalist in possession, and may even be the means of establishing a legally recognized system of State capitalism confirmed by treaty between profiteer and bureaucrat. Socialists at least must continue to press for a complete socialization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange by which ownership passes to the community, while at the same time they accept as the only ground for withdrawal of State control over an industry the assumption of control on the part of the workers concerned in that industry.

The Canadian Methodists:

We are in favor of the nationalization of our natural resources, such as mines, water-powers, fisheries, forests, the means of communication and transportation, and public utilities on which all the people depend.

The London Friends (following their declaration concerning the limitation of private property):

We do not yet see fully how this ideal is to be put into practice, but we are convinced that it is our duty to work towards it strenuously and fearlessly. One method of advance is the extension of State and municipal enterprises that minister to common needs. Municipal undertakings, in particular, afford opportunities for public service in their management, and are a practical method of concentrating property in the hands of the community, and of equalizing the share of individuals in the products of industry.

The principles underlying the attitude of these statements toward the institution of property and measures of nationalization is that the natural resources of the earth are needed for the nourishment of the common life. "The earth is the

Lord's and the fullness thereof." It is further assumed to be the divine purpose that the earth should be used in common service for the common need. This is indeed a spiritual concept of nature and of the use of natural resources. It means that God is to be found in nature not only by æsthetic appreciation, not alone by scientific perception of the nature and workings of the eternal energy, but most of all by conscious harmony with the eternal moral law in the use of this physical universe for the common development of the common spiritual capacities of mankind.

These statements which the various church bodies have recently been formulating (and several other denominational statements might have been quoted), involve serious changes within as well as without, the church. The meaning of these programs has not yet been perceived by millions of persons belonging to the organizations which have written them. When the people do become aware of the nature and amount of the change required in the existing order of things by the principles of the religion they profess, they will divide on the issue as church members about as they will in the capacity of citizens of the State and participants in the economic organization of society. It remains to be seen whether the old skins can hold the new wine, which is working powerfully. After all, that is a minor issue compared with the great fact that religion is becoming a force for social progress to a degree before unknown.

Social change arises from various sources: the practical breakdown of a system; the needs of the people who are oppressed by the existing order; the impulsion of science through its analysis of the deficiencies of the present order and their causes; the pull of great ideals which have been proclaimed until they have become the common property of a large number of people. The last named source is now becoming powerful. There is being thrown into the great stream of

social change a current of religious dynamic, the power of great ideals consciously applied.

An increasing section of the leadership of the churches is accepting the responsibility which develops upon organized religion in a day when multitudes of men and women are longing for a new order of life. In such a day it is clearly the function of organized religion to make clear to the common people what is the true end and the only sufficient motive of human living. The churches are further charged with the responsibility of urging and teaching the people, as they seek the true ends of life, to apply the knowledge and the social power gained in the past. Men look to their church to develop the faith, the courage and the sacrificial spirit, without which no advance in living is ever achieved. Mankind must believe in a new order if it ever is to come. It is not enough to say, "God wills it and therefore it shall be." It cannot be unless man wills it too, and is willing to pay the price for it. On these terms religion affirms the possibility of a new social order, submits its affirmation to the test of the scientific method and claims the coöperation of science in realizing the possibilities revealed by the history of man. Science has neither the last nor the controlling word concerning the nature and end of society. There is within mankind an unconquerable and imperishable spirit to which nothing is finally impossible. Humanity will not be denied the realization of its passion for the ideal. As it has refused to be thwarted by the physical universe, so will it decline to be defeated by the supposedly unconquerable defects of its common nature. We shall subdue them by the aid of science, inspired and guided by the faith, the courage, and the love which are the manifestations within us of the eternal spirit. In time and in eternity man will pursue the ideal social order of which he ever dreams and which increasingly he fashions into reality.

IN CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XII

THE TREND OF PROGRESS

It is apparent that the various programs which have been proposed for a new order have a number of measures in common. There are certain matters with which they all attempt to deal. They all endeavor to provide for the better protection and development of the wage earners and for their representation in the control of industry. In some form of regulation or ownership they attempt to extend the control of the state over the economic process. They all involve some modification of the right of private property. There is a general agreement that the approach to the removal of present inequalities of ownership is through the limitation of income and inheritance by taxation. The concensus of opinion seems to be that progress lies in the extension of the common control over matters which have heretofore been held to be private domain. It is the coöperative aspect of life that is now to be consciously cultivated. Indeed while these programs were being drafted, life was moving apace in that direction. In every belligerent nation the war brought an increase of collective bargaining between capital and labor and a coördination of the management of political and economic affairs. The state and industry came into more vital contact, in the common mobilization of economic forces. In addition, one of the strangest phenomena of the war was the large increase in the membership and activities of coöperative societies in every country where they were in existence. This indicates the widespread need and capacity for the development of a new mode of economic action.

It is increasingly apparent that the new order both in plan and in experiment is forming around certain definite principles. Men everywhere are seeking for a larger measure of equality and for the realization of fraternity in universal service to each other. They are more and more determined to make the social machinery an efficient means to the highest ends of human living. It is becoming manifest that the development of personality is to supersede the acquisition of goods as the goal of social activity and that the fullest development of personality is to be found in the effort to realize the solidarity of the human family.

These developments of the present hour make it still clearer that the principles around which the new order is forming are an historical development, that they did not drop suddenly out of the sky, were not merely conceived in the imagination of great men, but have their roots in social necessity. They are the historic unfolding of the spiritual possibilities of the human race out of the environment in which mankind has successively found itself and which it has progressively conquered. Their development and enlargement indicate very clearly that there is in all history a stream of progress. It by no means always flows straight forward; sometimes it eddies and its main currents turn upon themselves, the whole stream bends and flows backward for a space, but in the long run there is progress.

One of the incalculable factors making for progress in the present situation is the universal dissemination of knowledge. Whether or not this has brought any increase of intelligence, it has undoubtedly increased the capacity for common conscious action. The deliberative and organizing ability of mankind has expanded rapidly in the modern period. Our time is marked by the increase of conscious social control. It is true that man is master of his fate, and captain of his soul, individually and collectively, just as far as he acquires

knowledge to justify his faith and to aid his will to attain the objects of his desire. As man has learned to understand and then to conquer the physical universe, so is he learning to understand himself and so to overcome his own nature. Increasingly mankind makes up its mind in which direction it wants to go. Formerly, if we are to believe the sociologists, humanity went forward following its instincts, not knowing whither it went. The ideals that have played so great a part in the shaping of human history came out of what might be called natural causes, were born of hunger and pain and the necessity of work and fellowship, but gradually reason reflected upon the habits of men and developed the good of custom into ideals that are consciously chosen and carried forward. The common intelligence is now so far developed through the spread of education and the means of intercommunication that the nations can, if they will, determine the course of the future by reasoning together. The question is whether their intelligence will be deceived and defeated by the subtle influence of instinctive self-interest, or whether reason is powerful enough to discern the larger, longer good and choose the path of unselfishness. Ever and again humanity makes its great choices. Time and time again men will cry "give me liberty or give me death"; and then proceed to achieve freedom no matter how many die for it. In like manner, mankind will choose between comforts or brotherhood, and there is no doubt of the final outcome. Whatever struggle or pain or sacrifice is involved, brotherhood will be achieved.

The principles and ideals which the peoples of the earth are gradually choosing as the center of a new order constitute a rational religion, the religion of democracy. They are not dogmas to be defended, but principles recognized as germinal and accepted in order to be developed and applied. The world has been rapidly educated in the last five years to an understanding of the necessity of applying these principles if the

race is to live in the future. Many of the plain people are coming now to understand something of the origin and development of society, to get some inkling of how its customs and authority, its beliefs and ideals have arisen in the past. As this knowledge becomes diffused, the goal of social development will become clearer not only to the seers and philosophers, but also to the common folk. That goal is, in broad terms, a fraternal world community, the great loving family of mankind, knit together by common needs but most of all by loyalty to common ideals, and by the power of its common love efficiently directing and controlling its common life. To the aid of love there comes wisdom as well as knowledge. Those who have lived with the plain people know that they are acquiring the capacity to direct their common affairs. Either by intuitive idealism or hard common sense or both, they are learning to discard the advice of a controlled press and think and act for themselves. Socrates long ago remarked that the toilers had a knowledge of adapting their means to their ends which the philosophers lacked. It may be that they will carry this capacity over into public affairs, that the simple will discern what has been hid from the wise. It is worth remembering that the rail-splitter was the biggest statesman the modern period has produced.

Unquestionably the common mind of humanity is forming, under the influence of modern education whose principles and methods are increasingly followed the world over. The Report of the Committee on Adult Education, written by some of the most distinguished educators of Great Britain, after describing the strenuous efforts made by some working men to secure education, affirms that:

> The motive which impels men and women to seek education . . . . . arises from the desire for knowledge, for self-expression, for the satisfaction of intellectual, æsthetic and spiritual needs, and for a fuller life. They demand education in the hope that the power which it brings will enable

them to understand and help in the solution of the common problems of human society.

Unquestionably a common longing for a new form of life develops under the pressure of universal industrialism. Unless civilization is to fall back into anarchy and chaos, the nations will move in the same direction with more or less concert. Indeed, the conquest of distance, that miracle of modern civilization, makes a measure of common progress inevitable. When once men are able to think together, when once they become aware of their common necessities and their common ideals, they will fashion a common program. Even now it appears that self-determination cannot be confined to those peoples who have been emancipated from the German Empire, but India and China and the Isles of the Sea insist that they too shall have the benefit of that principle. Also while the economic revolution proceeds apace in Europe and in the United States, it appears in Japan and Argentina. The life of the world is one, and with many variations of form, it slowly crystallizes around the same principles. Democracy spreads the world over, in government and in economic life. Men said in the past that it meant freedom, we are learning to-day that it means also coöperation, that there is no freedom that does not involve service and no true service that is not free. In the balance of things, compulsory service brings no gain to mankind, whether enforced by Prussian autocracy or the bureaucracy of the so-called democratic state. In the new order, service is the chosen privilege of free men who agree that they will seek the common development and jointly control themselves and the universe to that end.

It is quite evident that the course of that common development of humanity, which is the desire of all lovers of their kind, involves at this present time the emancipation of a class from bondage. The people who have from time immemorial done the common work of the world have always been denied many

of its privileges. It is written of old that they sow and do not reap; they build and do not inhabit. Without their titanic labor, the vast wealth of the modern world had never been. Yet millions of them in the richest two nations of the earth are without sufficient food, clothes and shelter to maintain physical fitness. Upon their broad back has rested whatever of civilization there has been in any age. Its superstructure of art and literature and science is based upon the lives of the men and women who have always done the everyday tasks of the homes and the fields, the mines and workshops and highways of the world. Yet little of art, or literature or science has come down to them. Their capacity to enjoy it has been left undeveloped, their power to create it has been repressed. But in the modern world education has been penetrating downward, and step by step the people at the bottom of society have been pushing themselves upward to a new level. They are no longer content that human society should be like one of Pharaoh's pyramids, a magnificent monument but covering the bodies of the forgotten slaves who toiled to erect it. The General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen of England recently told the Industrial Conference called by the government to find some remedy for the growing social unrest, that

> the workers have resolutely set their faces toward some order of society which will improve their lives and conditions in accord with the new valuation they have set upon themselves. No longer are they prepared to content themselves with every wage advance being thrust upon the consumer and consequently cancelling every improvement instantly and automatically. Rent, interest, and profits are not inviolate.
>
> Statesmen of every party must make up their minds that there is going to be a drastic change. Wise men will allow and provide for it. Others will be convinced only by the compelling power of events.

Most of the benefits of political democracy have gone to the middle class. It brought that class more freedom, educa-

tion and social control. Economic democracy will complete the emancipation of the working class, which political democracy began but could not continue, because of the amount of power which the capitalist order concentrated again at the top of society. One outstanding effect of the war has been to strengthen the demand of the working class for freedom. Whatever may be the effect of the world conflict in revealing the value of the toilers to the rest of society, what it has done in revealing them to themselves will long be felt in social development. The war has also enabled them to gauge their economic power and they are now bound to apply that power to improve their situation, which, because of the manifest inequality of their relationship to the other classes, has become intolerable not only to them but to all men with a social conscience. Moreover, the arrangements in which the war terminated have taught the wage-earners to trust themselves and not look to another class for leadership. They now know beyond dispute the value of the promises of a new day made to them during the war by the leaders of political democracy. They now understand that there is no effective aid and little comfort for them from the idealistic democracy of the middle class, as long as it evades economic reality and assumes the sanctity of the capitalistic order. Hereafter, for good or ill, they are likely to insist upon working out their own salvation. They have taken the measure of those who, with or without sufficient pressure, will do anything for them except let them do things for themselves.

The growing power of the working class is beyond dispute the outstanding fact in human relationships. The question now is whether this self-conscious, self-dependent working class is going to seek only freedom and power for itself or whether it will seek the emancipation and development of all humanity. No man may yet answer that question. Will the toilers prove to be the healers and with their constructive

capacity weld together what the rulers have broken and cannot now mend? This is now their purpose, but can they hold to it? Will they be deceived by evil or ignorant leaders, cheated by the shibboleths of yesterday, duped by the cunning of the powers that be, betrayed by their own passions, defeated by immediate self-interest? This much is certain, if they are misled into the path of self-seeking, there will be no progress for humanity for a long time to come, but the stream of life will turn back upon itself. If they are able to follow truly both their necessities and their ideals, a mighty current arising out of new springs in the subsoil of humanity will carry life forward.

The hope of the future lies in the great undeveloped capacities at the bottom of human society. It is perfectly clear from the arrangements made at Paris and the discussion of them in political circles, that there is neither healing nor health nor hope for the world at the hands of those who are statesmen by trade. It is evident, that the old order cannot produce a new way of life, that its vital impulses are so immoral and unfraternal that any attempt at unselfish idealism, no matter how sincere, is doomed to failure. It was essential for the healing of the world that there should be a peace which would not only convey to the German people such punishment as would lead them to shun the paths of evil but also such reconciliation as would induce repentance and draw them into ways of righteousness. Instead of doing that, the present arrangements are more likely to confirm the German people in their fundamental immoralities, because they will convince them that in the day of their power the professedly democratic states were actuated by pure self-interest, and self-interest therefore is the only reality. It was essential for the health of the world that there should be such economic readjustments that the nations could proceed in fraternity to develop the resources for their mutual life. But the present covenant leaves

the world joined in bitter economic warfare and offers no means to avert it. It was essential for the hope of the world that a pact should be written which would make war impossible, or at least less likely, by ridding the people of the burden of armaments. The present compact attempts to guarantee by force adjustments which its makers admit to be unjust, which already are inciting war, so that it is officially announced that Great Britain and the United States have an understanding to increase their military establishment to four times the size of pre-war times. It was also essential for the hope of the world that the great burden of national debts, mostly created by past wars, should be lifted from the productive labor of the future. But the present arrangement attempts to validate all the national and international finance of the old order, regardless of the consequences to human life.

It is not then to be wondered at if the simple people of the soil and the factory conclude that such a settlement shows the hand of the investing class, that the rulers of the democratic capitalistic state are of essentially the same moral caliber as the ruling class of imperialistic militarism, and bear a similar, sinister relationship to the future welfare of the common folk. However this may be, and regardless of the degree to which such a conclusion is justified, the working class are attempting to manage their own affairs, which turn out to be a very large part of the affairs of society at large. The doctrine of self-help has been preached for a long time by those who are at the head of things in this country. Their teaching is now going to be taken in a way they did not imagine or intend, and will not like. They have been preaching self-help in terms of individual achievement but they are now to see what changes in life will result from the collective self-help of the people who form the bottom strata of the present social order. The degree in which that self-help will become mutual aid for all the people will depend upon the degree to which those in other social strata who seek

a better day for all people, can coöperate with the working class.

The individualistic democracy that we have so glorified, by its conjunction with the capitalistic economic order made the strong to become the rulers and their descendants the parasitic oppressors of the common run of mankind, according to the ancient fashion of autocracy. If humanity, let alone democracy, is now to be saved, the strong are called to sacrifice. Who shall preach that gospel to the working class in the day of their new-found power? Will the educated idealists of the middle class sacrifice anything for the development of the working class? Industry and education and religion have been directly and indirectly urging the fittest of the toilers to get out of their class, to aspire to "something higher." Will education and religion now reinforce the passion for brotherhood that rises where human need is greatest, and instead of the social doctrine that the survivors of the struggle of life are to be enlarged by education and culture, teach that all are to be developed and all handicaps removed, no matter how long or complex the undertaking? Since the leaders of education and religion are not slow to demand that the leaders of the working class give allegiance to this doctrine, will they themselves practice as well as preach it?

If the rising working class is indeed to bring a new order of life to the world and not another more extended tyranny, it must perpetuate the spirit of sacrifice which now binds it together in its common need and struggle. It goes without saying that in any order of life, no matter how democratic, the strong will always exert control proportionate to their strength. Democracy is safe then only when the strong exercise their strength for the common good, when they are leaders and not masters. But both the common good which the strong seek and the manner of their leadership must be commonly approved and continually subject to the common confirmation

and rejection. The leadership of the strong is safe only when it is democratically chosen and democratically sustained, upon the basis of proven disinterested service. Education and religion are essentially aristocratic when they teach that the strong have a divine right of disinterested leadership, to be individually determined. They are democratic only when they teach that the disinterestedness of the leadership of the strong is to be determined not only by their own inner voice, but also by the franchise of the people, when it is so demonstrable that it requires no other influence than its program to sustain it. When the strong so lead, the effect of their strength, by abjuring all privilege except the privilege of extra service, will be to level life upward.

Through the equalization of social environment and educational opportunity, society moves toward the equalization of power. By these means, in conjunction with measures to prevent the inheritance of crippling disability, capacity will be spread more and more throughout the whole population, so that the results that now follow from select mating will become more general. The range of choice for marriages that conform to eugenic standards will become gradually wider, until it might come about that any other kind of marriage would be the exception. In such a day the differences of capacity would not be so great as to imperil the democratic principle. Indeed, democracy is not likely to be defeated by such differences of capacity as now exist, provided that it removes the opportunity for their undue expression.

The change in the social status of the toilers of the earth that is now proceeding necessarily invokes other serious changes in social organization. Of these, the central and most far-reaching is the transformation of the character of the present mode of production and distribution. The complete emancipation of the working class waits upon the abolition of the capitalistic economic order. If the ideal of democracy

and the programs of education and religion look forward to the development of all backward peoples and subject classes it is apparent that the capitalistic mode of production and distribution stands clear across the path of progress. It cannot provide adequately for the world as it now is, let alone afford the means for universal cultural development. The reason, as Veblen has pointed out, is that it is forced by its own nature continually to commit sabotage upon itself, that is, it must continually hinder the productive process by various devices, conscious and automatic, in order to hold up prices and maintain dividends. Therefore the extent of its possibility for increased production is limited to the profitableness of that increase to the controlling owners of the enterprise, which does not at all measure up to either the needs or capacities of society as a whole.

The capitalist order might be forgiven for failing adequately to supply the goods that the world needs, and humanity would doubtless be willing to give its owners time to tinker up the machine in hopes of making it go, but it must meet another test. The deep general dissatisfaction with the present economic system is because of what it does to the spirit of man. Admittedly it gives little joy in their work to those whom it counts its greatest beneficiaries, while many who profit by it continually suffer the refined tortures of an uneasy conscience. When they try to improve it, they so alter its essential parts—the wage system and the profit system—that the result belongs to another order altogether, working from different motives to different ends.

The war showed that the profit-seeking system could not produce the goods nor evoke the services needed by mankind, the peace shows that it cannot aid in developing the spiritual unity which is still more essential to the human race. With all the increasing interdependence of the economic life of the world, the capitalist order yet divides the economic forces against themselves, manager against worker, producer against

consumer. It so enlarges the competitive elements of life as to make them divisive and destructive. It leads the nations, even while they covenant together, to plan economic warfare against each other. It was enabled through the aid of the moral depravity of the German state to conceal the degree of its responsibility for the world war; it will not be so well able to conceal its actions during the war and its part in the adjustments with which the war terminated. The capitalist order has yet to face the conscience of mankind when the common intelligence has fully grasped the significance of the fact that in every nation war profits far exceeded those of peace, that the war occasioned the greatest increase of private fortunes ever known. This fact fully reveals the moral nature of a system which makes profits even out of death and dishonor, which capitalizes the supreme tragedy of the world as it capitalizes its laughter and its joy, which proposes to draw interest forever on the millions of youth who now lie in the battlefields of Europe when they might be helping to make a new world.

Along with this fact must be put another. Of the several forces which operated to defeat the hope of those who saw a new international order coming out of the war, not the least was the unconscious influence of the present financial system and the actual intrigues of its chief manipulators and beneficiaries. On the one hand was the predatory attitude of nations whose economic life is organized around the principle of aggression, whose leaders were face to face with the necessity of answering to the common people for the promises they had made concerning the benefits to be derived from victory. On the other hand was the need of collecting the interest on international debts and maintaining the sanctity of the right of the money lender to have his pound of flesh. To these two necessities the interests of humanity were sacrificed. When the plain people understand what lies behind the terms of the settlement in regard to China, when they comprehend the

real meaning and causes of the policy of the Allies in Eastern Europe and the Near East, if they do not then reject the capitalist order as a corrupter and destroyer of humanity, there is indeed small hope for the future.

The capitalist order is passing, not because of defects in its machinery, but because its power is giving out. It is doomed because its central principle is selfishness, which is the fundamental immorality, and simply will not work. When any system is subjected to as much questioning as the present mode of production and distribution, both from those who benefit from it and those who suffer by it, it is a certain sign that the day of its dissolution is not far distant. Another indication of its approaching demise is the progressive abandonment in the colleges of that system of political economy which deluded itself and the rest of us into believing that it was discovering inexorable and immutable economic law when it was only analyzing and revealing the workings of a competitive capitalistic mode of production and distribution. The recognition of this fact will relieve society of a great incubus, mentally, spiritually and practically. It is under the shelter of the cloak of the orthodox economists that the present order takes refuge when it is hard put to it to show that it is either moral or efficient. It is the aid of the economists, directly and indirectly given, which enables the beneficiaries of the present industrial and financial system when faced with its inefficiencies and immoralities to still maintain that selfishness is scientific. But the war has so shaken the authority of the capitalist order, and the peace has so revealed its moral bankruptcy even to its own defenders, that not any support it may secure in the world of science or of religion can restore it to power.

Because the present economic order is quite generally admitted to be inadequate for both the spiritual and practical needs of human society, it does not follow that it is straightway,

or ever, to be totally wiped out. Such an event does not occur, not even in Russia. That order has contributed invaluable tools to human effort, which will be retained. Many of its forms will remain, as the forms of the autocratic state have remained, to be used by democracy. It will be abandoned gradually and progressively. But it is essential that the concepts around which it has formed should be definitely renounced. What economic order is to presently replace the capitalist system, does not yet appear. The matter is still in the stage of experimentation, with the probability that the result in form will be composite. But if the world is to move forward, its economic life must be organized around different ethical principles than those which dominate in the present system. No change of machinery will restore the world or satisfy the hopes and longings of humanity. The change that is needed in the economic order goes deeper; it involves a transformation of motive and end, of spirit and purpose. The spirit of the capitalist order is far older than the industrial system. It has deep roots in human nature and a long course of development in human history. Its abandonment is no small matter. It involves the substitution of the spirit of coöperative service for the spirit of strife and conquest, and the choosing of the promotion of the common welfare of humanity as the end of life instead of the pursuit of wealth and power.

The working class is becoming aware of the fact that to secure its emancipation and development it must transform the economic system. There is also an increasing agreement among the intellectuals that such a change is necessary in the interests of everybody. But there is much more than a new mode of economic organization involved in the present pursuit of freedom. If the rise of the working class and the abandonment of the capitalist order is to lead man out into broader fields of life, these changes must bring freedom from

the complex machinery of modern existence, which has well-nigh enslaved man not only in the factories but in the whole of his life. There is a conflict to-day, in the centers of education and religion as well as in the workshops, between a machine system and the spirit of man, which longs to move out into new fields of adventure and achievement. Can we mobilize for service in the machine age and yet preserve the freedom of the individual? Here is one of the perennial conflicts between society and the individual, never so acute as in the day of the machine. It remains yet to be seen whether the machine has become the master, not only of the working people, but also of the human spirit.

Moreover, if the freedom and joy of a new order of life are to come to the world, man must master himself as well as the machinery of social organization. The war has shown to us that no matter what man has done in the subduing of nature, he has not subdued himself. He has still the old brute instincts and when he looks them in the face he knows that he is yet a naked, painted savage in spite of all his claims to science and religion, and that his barbaric inheritance may yet destroy him. A new order, then, means the mastery by man of his animal instincts, particularly the instincts of sex and possession and combat, all of them either life-giving or destructive according to their use and direction. The more man eats of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, the more is the necessity laid upon him of controlling these instincts, of making them push his wagon, while the stars to which he has hitched it also pull.

In the past, the conscious effort to control the animal instincts has been mostly the individual struggle of separate souls, who have been aided or defeated very largely according to the collective arrangements of their time in the state and in industry. But if humanity is to go on living, the struggle to control the primeval instincts must now be a common

effort, carried on together by all of the community and by all of mankind. The only possible means of victory in the long fight is to direct these instincts toward the common ends of human living; the instinct of sex toward the development of the family in its highest form, the instinct of possession toward the development of those common resources and that common wealth by which man must commonly live, and the instinct of combat toward the joint conquest of nature and of the evil that is within man.

If then, the main course of progress is clear, what are the means by which advance is to be made? We are faced with two choices: one of them is in the realm of organization. The debate now proceeding in the House of the People is on the question whether the emancipation of the working class and the coöperative organization of society is to be effected by political or industrial means. Is the state of the future to be organized around economic functions rather than geographical divisions and to enable the people directly to control their associated activities? Unquestionably the war has lowered the authority of political democracy. It suspended parliamentary discussion. In every belligerent nation it substituted for the legislative assembly an oligarchic bureaucracy. Its climax was three men behind closed doors attempting to arrange the destinies of millions of people, and dispensing territories as a tradesman hands out goods. The war has taught the people that the vital processes of human society are not governmental but economic. It was industrial mobilization that decided the issue. Before long the people will apply that lesson to the tasks of peace, for there has long been evident a growing distrust of the political state. It has failed in the hour of crisis to do what most of the people wanted done, and they are already beginning to try some other tools. The Labor Memorandum presented to the British Industrial Conference, contained the following sentences:

These root causes (of labor unrest) are two-fold; first, the breakdown of the existing capitalistic system of industrial organization, in the sense that the mass of the working class is now firmly convinced that production for private profit is not an equitable basis on which to build, and that a vast extension of public ownership and democratic control of industry is necessary; (and, second, the fact that) the workers can see no indication that either the Government or the employers have realized the necessity for any fundamental changes or that they are prepared even to make a beginning of industrial reorganization on more democratic principles.

Throughout the British Dominion and in the United States, the war has not only shaken the authority of the democratic state among the hosts of labor, but also the authority of those labor leaders who have been acting in conjunction with the state during the war. Everywhere the workers are seeking new forms of organization, and finding new leaders. Shop Committees, the Shop Steward Movement, the One Big Union propaganda, are all signs of the serious breakdown of constituted authority. Among the Latin and Slavic populations this tendency proceeds at still greater pace. It is all a part of the process by which mankind in general is finding itself and its powers and ceasing to be dependent upon a few leaders.

The last message to Congress discussed the necessity of coördinating the electric means of communication and proposed that a congressional committee investigate the matter. But the people have little confidence in legislative committees. They regard them as a performance of political ritual. They are beginning to understand that such a piece of work as coordinating one of the vital functions of modern society is a job for technicians and administrators and laborers, not for politicians who know nothing about it and whose object in a democratic state is to please as many and offend as few as possible, to adjust all matters by a process of compromise in which the intrenched, financial interests usually get the advantage. As they come to understand the nature and work-

ings of the present political process, and through their participation in the industrial process come to know the kind of management it requires, the people of this country, concluding that economic functions must be commonly controlled, are likely to look elsewhere than the political state for the form of control.

They are bound to discover, however, that if the common control of industrial organization is to succeed it must proceed upon the principles, and to some degree the methods, which political democracy has developed and established. The experience of the war has heavily discounted among the workers that rigid state socialism which would set the political machine to run the economic life. What is more likely to develop is an amalgam of political and industrial organization, working together in a joint control of the vital processes of society. The principles of democracy demand direct control of each economic function by all those directly engaged in it, but coördinating control of all the functions by all of the people. The former will be worked out both by operating guilds or unions of all those engaged in a particular function, deriving their powers from the state and answering to it for their stewardship, and also by coöperative societies. The general control will be worked out by the development of political organization for the formulation and guidance of general economic policies. In the continuous discussion of the policies involved in both cases, the parliamentary method will take on new life and worth.

But the democratic state will have hard work to recover from the wounds it has recently inflicted upon itself. In a day when humanity needs to trust in the moral values of democracy as never before, the leaders of the Western nations have been demonstrating before all the peoples of the earth that the present political state cannot be trusted to maintain democracy. The result is likely to be not only disillusionment

concerning the efficacy of political machinery, but distrust of the democratic process itself. This would mean that men would lose faith in each other and in themselves, for upon such faith democracy is based and by such faith it grows. How can men live together without faith in each other? Organized religion, which assumes the duty of increasing faith among men in order that they may find their way in the universe, had better reckon with the fact that a generation weary and strained by the great conflict, facing results which are so much less than its hopes, may become absolutely cynical. Therefore organized religion, especially in the country which has suffered least from the war, will need to consider how the faith of men in each other is to be restored.

The democratic state is capable of adjusting itself in an amalgam with industrial organization, unless its possibilities of change be unduly obstructed by those who are now entrenched in power and privilege. An indication of this possibility, in both directions, is furnished by a recent happening in North Dakota. There forty-two taxpayers brought suit to restrain the state officials from establishing a state bank and state-owned elevators, mills and packing houses, a policy which is the result of a program of political education and action since the year 1911. This suit was based on the ground that a citizen who is compelled to pay taxes for such purposes is deprived of his property without due process of law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Judge Charles F. Amidon of the United States District Court, overruled the contention and dismissed the suit. In the course of his decision he pointed out that:

> What may be done by the State to protect its people and promote their welfare cannot be declared by a priori reasoning. New evils arise as a result of changing conditions. If the State remains static while the evils that afflict society are changing and dynamic, the State soon becomes wholly inadequate to protect the public. The State must be as

free to change its remedies as the evils that cause human suffering are to change their forms.

If the State can be kept thus free, industrial readjustment will proceed by due process of accommodation between political and economic power.

This also holds true for the international situation. While there is an absolute ethical conflict between an economic order consciously organized for the common welfare and one organized for the pursuit of private property and power, just as there is between democracy and autocracy, nevertheless it is possible for states whose economic life is organized co-operatively for common use and welfare to exist side by side with those whose economic life is competitively organized for private gain. There will be degrees of coöperation and of competition in both cases. The course of progress would then be mutual modification by the process of discussion and experimentation. The world needs to listen to all propaganda for a new order that does not advocate or involve the use of violence. If political democracy is afraid of the competition of ideas it thereby confesses that its case rests upon coercion, that it is not democracy at all, but something else masquerading under that name. It is governments and ruling classes that have an interest in preventing international propaganda for social change. The interest of the people lies in another direction, in order that their choice may be based upon due and sufficient knowledge of the whole issue. Of course if the propaganda is one for the overthrow of the existing order by physical force, the matter takes on a different complexion. If, on the one hand the people of the democratic states are to be called to maintain an armed dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of justice and humanity, and on the other hand are to be called in the name of democracy and religion to an armed crusade against every government that limits private property and the earning power of foreign capital, the future

before mankind is indeed dark. In that case the League of Nations will be the mobilization of capitalist states to fight the Communist International founded by the Russian Bolsheviki, with which the Italian and Swiss socialist parties are already affiliated, while the French, German and Austrian Socialists are moving in the same direction.

This possibility raises the second choice concerning the means of progress. Is it to be secured by force or by reason, by methods of peace or the ways of war? It is plain that no significant change in human history has occurred without violence and therefore in the present situation some violence is inevitable. The question is whether warfare is to be the main method of advance.

The choice before us in the matter of means is usually put in the form of a contrast between evolution and revolution. It is also usually assumed that revolution is identical with violence, whereas if the term is used in contrast with evolution it should relate to the nature and extent of change rather than to its manner. The Declaration of Independence recognizes the right of revolution in certain contingencies, and since its signers were undoubtedly justifying before history the action of the American colonies, it may be assumed that a change in government effected by physical force was by them held to be justified under the conditions specified. But those conditions are of the essence of democracy, therefore the democratic state if it is true to itself, keeps open other channels of change and removes both the occasion, the necessity and the justification for the use of physical force. When the term "revolutionary" is dissociated from connection with violence there is no occasion to be fearful of its use. It used to be quite respectable in this country. Only those who desire to maintain the present order without regard to its right, reason or justice need be afraid to consider proposals of change which in their nature and degree, and not in their manner of

execution, are revolutionary. As a matter of fact the contrast between evolution and revolution is not justified. There is no such sharp antithesis. The evolutionary process, particularly in human society, at certain points develops such remarkable changes that they are in deed and truth revolutionary. We have now come to such a point, but that does not imply that such changes as now impend need occur by the catastrophic method. Whether or not the new forms of life that now and again appear in the evolutionary process unduly rend or destroy the old forms out of which they came, depends upon the degree of obstruction to their development. Revolutionary steps in the process of social evolution have in the past generally occurred by revolutionary methods, they may occur by evolutionary methods, which is what democracy makes possible and ought to guarantee.

If democracy does not make a way for economic change without class war, Western civilization is headed for complete and overwhelming disaster. There is little hope that it could survive another great international conflict. The social consequences of this present war have not yet been assessed nor faced. The resultant diseases may permanently impair the vitality of Europe. However that may turn out, the nature of modern warfare is such as to raise the question whether its total social destructiveness is not greater than any benefits than can possibly be achieved by it. Whatever any war may have done for progress in the past, it is almost practically certain that the universal war of modern times, both in its extent and in its nature, is humanity committing suicide. It means that all the intellectual gains and all the moral advance of the race are turned to its destruction, the one to achieve and the other to justify the ends for which the struggle is waged. This is particularly true of the international class war. Those who now preach that progress cannot be attained without such a conflict had better reckon with the fact that

there is an extremely slight possibility that it could ever be attained by it.

Yet despite the fact that it would sound the doom of the Western world, such conflict will come if the temper now manifested among certain of the forces on both sides of the economic conflict should prevail. In the Western world there is only one answer to the armed dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand or the forcible repression of all orderly attempts at fundamental economic change by the ruling class on the other, and that is a war of extermination. To neither tyranny will men of Anglo-Saxon blood, who dissent from the order it seeks to support, submit while they can breathe. Among the people of this race, the decision concerning the means of progress lies in the main with those who are now in power. The workers are peaceful and patient, and are not likely to follow any theory or plan of violence. History indicates that they are not to be provoked to upheaval except by some long continued injustice suddenly made intolerable by an act or policy of incredible folly and oppression on the part of the ruling powers. Whether or not economic readjustment in the British Empire and the United States is to come by gradual and orderly change is for the people of property to say. If they put their trust in force they will finally meet force; if they rest their case on reason and justice they will be dealt with in reason and justice. Action and reaction are apparently equal in the moral universe. That is why evil can be overcome with good and never with evil.

At present the attitude of those who constitute the class of privilege toward any proposed change in the economic order does not give much hope of progress by accommodation rather than coercion. Before a Government Commission, one after another the men who derive large incomes from the mining royalties on thousands of acres of land in Great Britain, which was given their ancestors by long-dead kings, announced

their determined opposition to any policy for the nationalization of mines. In Canada, the Federal government ends a strike by sending federal troops to throw the leaders into prison. In the United States the socialists are denied meeting places and mobbed under the inciting influence of the misrepresentations of the press, and laws are being passed to prevent revolutionary propaganda in such terms that they can be and are administered to repress all organized discussion of fundamental political, social and economic change. Nor is the situation more hopeful in the world at large. The peoples approach the problem of economic readjustment with the blood lust aroused by the world war still boiling within them, still suffering from that madness which leads humanity to devour itself. Those who seek in Eastern and Central Europe to bring in a new order are frankly trusting in the power of mailed might. The governments of France and Great Britain speak fair words to the forces of labor and meantime seek to mobilize the army against possible industrial revolution. A war to end war results in multiplied wars and threats of war, and occasions increased armaments in the democratic states.

At Paris the elder statesmen made decisions which unchanged will involve the world in two future struggles both greater than the war just finished. In giving to Japan territory and economic power in China, in violation of all the principles professed by the leaders of democracy and even of the accepted law of nations, they have turned four hundred million people, the greatest single reservoir of human power on earth, toward militarism and " real-politik." For the present they have thrown that undeveloped human energy into the hands of the one imperialistic ruling class still left in the world and thereby weakened the democratic forces within its own land that might have lessened its menace to the rest of mankind. Unless there is enough democracy left in the earth to

undo that shameful deed, a long and bitter retribution waits upon the Western world.

Another decision at Paris invites the world-wide class war. It is reported by reputable correspondents that during April (1919) the Soviet Government of Russia made overtures to the Allies, offering to cease fighting, to withdraw all its troops from every part of Russia not accepting its authority, to permit every part of Russia to decide by free franchise what kind of government it wanted and to abide by the decision, on condition that the Allies do likewise and resume economic relations with Russia. The only answer to that offer which the world has heard has been the sending of further aid to the forces attacking the Russian Soviet Government and the sending of the Rumanian army into Hungary to attack the Soviet Government there. This decision is tantamount to a declaration of class war by the forces of capitalism, using the democratic state as its mouthpiece and instrument. If the leaders of the old order believed in democracy they would challenge the people of the earth to disband the armies and navies, to destroy the armaments or convert them into instruments of production, and let the economic controversy be settled by discussion and experiment. Are they blind like those who sat behind the doors of the palaces of Petrograd in absolute ignorance of the storm rising among the common people of Russia? Does immediate economic self-interest so blind them that they cannot see the consequences to the present structure of property and credit of trying to maintain it by force of arms? Yet because of the nature of that structure it dare not trust its future to the reason and justice of the common people. It therefore compels those of its chief priests and rulers who seek peace to put their trust in force.

The decisions at Paris make abundantly clear to the wayfaring man the amount of pressure which the present economic order exerts upon political arrangements, and its consequences.

It is clear that unless economic reorganization can be secured there is no hope of peaceful progress. But the reorganization which is required to throw the influence of the economic activities of man on the side of fraternity rather than on the side of strife, involves certain far-reaching and general spiritual changes. The economic order is roughly speaking the stomach of the social system, it is the nutritive process on which all other functions of the body politic depend and by which they are conditioned, reflecting in their weakness or strength their sickness or health, the manner in which it performs its tasks. This is not to say that economic conditions absolutely determine the entire social order. By the head and by the heart, the stomach can be controlled; by the former for the good of its owner and by the latter for the good of others. And if this be indeed the boasted age of reason, then the economic process can now be consciously controlled in the interest of the common ideals of mankind. If the economic process is to remain instinctive it will follow self-interest blindly and involve mankind in the destruction that ever waits upon such a course when long enough continued. If it be rationally controlled in the direction of consciously chosen ends, the economic process becomes one of the means in the spiritual development of mankind.

In reality the relation between economic and spiritual development is an interlocking relationship. Neither can progress without the other. But to make the economic organization a means for the increase of fraternity requires that it be shaped around certain concepts and ideals. It requires the general recognition of the equality of need and right of all mankind, and the universal acceptance of the obligation of service. It demands adherence to the truth "above all nations is humanity" and the development of supreme loyalty to the world-wide human family above all loyalties to class or nation or race. The moment one individual attempts advantage over another,

the community life begins to split, the instant one nation seeks privilege and power beyond others, or one race assumes superiority over another, the world begins to divide into hostile camps. A condition of the achievement of brotherhood of man is intelligent acceptance of the ideals of equality and solidarity and unfaltering devotion to the task of translating them into social organization.

It is also obvious that no reorganization of the economic order will aid mankind to realize equality and solidarity unless it seek a higher end than the accumulation of material goods and their enjoyment. As long as men seek mainly to lay up treasures upon earth they will fall to quarreling in the undertaking. Therefore the avoidance of the supreme disaster of continued and universal class war depends also upon the general recognition of the fact that man does not live by bread alone, and the acceptance of the development of personality as the end of human activity and of the universe.

When an attempt is made to define the development of personality it appears that the last word is with religion. Science and art and economic productivity do not complete the process of personal development. It is more than self-culture. The teaching of religion, drawn from all of human experience, is that the full realization of personality is to be found only in fellowship and service, wherein self-culture is utilized and completed. Religion further declares that personality reaches its highest expression when its fellowship and service embrace all mankind and when it develops the sacrificial spirit. That is why war has been glorified. In the common course of life most people follow only a dull routine with no glory in it. They eat and drink and beget, earn their living or make their fortune, with no call to heroic endeavor. Even the power of family life to develop the higher expressions of personality is dulled and deadened by the monotonous character of their daily toil. Then comes war and lifts these people to the plane

of service and sacrifice for a cause. What war affords for the expression of personality in the course of daily duty for purposes of mutual destruction, must some day be provided in the ordinary routine of life. The daily round and common task must lead men continuously to service and on due occasion to sacrifice, that men may be great in work as they are great in war, because they greatly serve the common good. If religion seeks the development of personality through the spirit of sacrifice, it must needs help the world to secure an economic order operated for the common good rather than for private advantage, whose very nature will constantly require the exercise of the spirit of sacrifice as well as the spirit of service.

If the new order is to be animated by the spirit of sacrifice it cannot come into being without that spirit. Coercion cannot bring it, any more than coercion can prevent it. If it comes by war, it comes in mutilated form, with the old tyrannies partly remaining. If it can come because those who now have more of life than others are willing to sacrifice whatever is necessary to open up the path of development to all, the new order will come with power. The chief contribution then that religion can make to the new order is to develop the sacrificial spirit. Christianity preaches the gospel of redemption and regeneration through sacrifice. Can it now get its followers to practice that gospel, as individuals, as classes, as nations? It is infinitely harder to develop the sacrificial spirit in the nation than in the individual. During the war England signed papers which turned the destinies of millions of people into alien hands. She had no shadow of moral right to make such disposition of others. But her situation was desperate and her statesmen were actuated by the desire to save the nation from defeat. If the spirit of the simple Englishmen who died on Flanders Field because "of their own free will, they came to help their fellowmen in trouble,"

had possessed the national body, England would have said "we will die if we must but we will not buy life at the cost of the liberties of others." This is what men have said as individuals and thereby lived forever. The nation that learns to say it will never perish from the earth.

Whatever form the new order may take, its vital breath is the sacrificial spirit. Lacking that, it will not be. The spirit of life is the spirit of sacrifice even unto death. That spirit is stirring in the earth to-day. Over against the callous and shameless selfishness, the ruthless brutality and sordid materialism that stand out to-day in the high places of the earth must be set the capacity for sacrificial service which millions of plain people have manifested in these last years. It is evidence sufficient of the presence and power of the instinct for sacrifice, which, like the instinct of the homing pigeon or the migratory birds, will lead man to his desired haven of world-wide brotherhood when the artificial barriers that now obstruct its passage are removed. The instinct to serve and to suffer has been mostly bred out and trained out of the classes of privilege in the capitalist order, save as they turn to war for its expression. Nevertheless, that on due occasion all classes can yet answer to the call of human need, the self-forgetfulness of war-time has made manifest. If that spirit can be kept alive and turned to the larger ends of world-wide good, it will soon bring a new day upon the earth. Whether the new order desired by multitudes will now appear, depends finally upon whether those multitudes have sufficient capacity for sacrifice to send new life coursing through the exhausted veins of humanity.

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